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| GAYLORD | | | PRINTED IN U.S.A. |

ASSURBANIPAL HUNTING.

*From a Slab found at Nineveh, now in the British Museum.*

# HISTORY

OF

# ASSURBANIPAL,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

## CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

By GEORGE SMITH.

# PREFACE.

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In the year 1866 I commenced copying Inscriptions with a view to publish a History of Assurbanipal. In the next year, 1867, I was appointed to assist Sir H. Rawlinson in preparing a new volume of Assyrian Inscriptions, and the copies of cylinder fragments of Assurbanipal, made by Mr. E. R. Bowler, were placed in my hands. These copies I found very useful, as Mr. Bowler had great experience in copying the Cuneiform character; and from them, in conjunction with my own copies, I put together the Cylinder Inscriptions, having at the time the benefit of Sir H. Rawlinson's supervision. These cylinders, and the principal tablets of Assurbanipal, were printed in the Third Volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.

After the printing of this work I found that, by search in the Museum cupboards, I was gathering a number of new fragments of the annals of Assurbanipal. I added these to my copies, and commenced translating them. On mentioning the subject to Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, the well-known Chronologist, he generously proposed to advance a sum of money for the publication of these annals, which sum he subsequently increased; and the completion of the work was provided for by Mr. H. Fox Talbot, the Assyrian scholar. To the kindness and liberality of these two gentlemen I am entirely indebted for the means of publishing my present work.

In order to make the book as perfect as possible I have re-copied all the texts from the original tablets and cylinders, but the fragmentary state of some of the inscriptions causes considerable doubt as to the reading of several passages; these, however, do not affect any important historical matter.

All passages restored will be found enclosed in brackets, thus [⟡]; passages or signs present in one copy but omitted in another (⟡); and variant words or passages are given thus (v. ⟡).

The two books which ‘I have most used in my translation are the Assyrian Dictionary of my friend Mr. E. Norris, and Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. I differ in opinion from Mr. Norris as to the meaning of several Assyrian words; but the numerous examples and comparisons given in his Dictionary make it a most valuable aid to Assyrian scholars. The printing of the present work has occupied about twelve months. It has been in the hands of Messrs. Harrison and Sons, who have spared no expense to make it perfect; and for its progress I am much indebted to Mr. John Mabey, the compositor, who has so much skill in setting-up the Cuneiform types.

My own chronological views are not very decided, for the Assyrian Inscriptions have introduced many difficulties into this already complicated subject; on this account I have said as little as possible about the chronology. Mr. Bosanquet has inserted, at the end of the book, a paper to explain his views on the subject of Chronology in connection with the Annals of Assurbanipal.

G. S.

*September*, 1871.

# ASSURBANIPAL.

FIRST among the sources of information respecting Assurbanipal must be placed the decagon cylinder (Cylinder A) in the British Museum. This inscription is the most perfect of his longer documents, and carries his history down to a later period than the others. Cylinder A, when complete, contained over 1,200 lines of cuneiform writing (about twenty lines are now quite lost), and is divided by lines drawn across the columns into thirteen parts. The inscriptions on other types of cylinders—the octagon (Cylinder B), the decagons (Cylinders C and D), and Cylinder E—supply us with accounts of two expeditions omitted on Cylinder A. Besides these there are many independent inscriptions, giving the history of particular campaigns; and lastly, the reports of the Assyrian generals to Assurbanipal, and his answers and proclamations. The history of Assurbanipal from these materials will divide itself into the following heads :—

The introduction, genealogy, and accession of the monarch.
The first Egyptian war.
The second Egyptian war.
The siege of Tyre and affairs of Lydia.
The conquest of Karbit (omitted on Cylinder A).
The war with Minni.
The war with Urtaki, king of Elam (omitted on Cylinder A).

The war with Te-umman, king of Elam, and the conquest of
 Gambuli.
The revolt of Saul-mugina, brother of Assurbanipal.
The first war with Umman-aldas, king of Elam.
The second war with Umman-aldas.
The Arabian war.
The final triumph over Elam.
The buildings of Assurbanipal.
Later notices of his reign and sketch of the chronology.

Under each head the most important documents referring to it
will be given, so far as possible, that the different accounts may be
compared together. Cylinder A is here taken as the standard
wherever it refers to the events.

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# PART I.

### *Introduction, Genealogy, and Accession of Assurbanipal.*

The name of Assur-bani-pal, ordinarily written [cuneiform],
sometimes [cuneiform] and [cuneiform], and once
[cuneiform], consists of three elements; the first [cuneiform],
[cuneiform], or [cuneiform], is the name of the god Assur; the second element, [cuneiform],
[cuneiform], or [cuneiform], *bani* or *ban*, is a form of the verb to make or
beget; and the third element, [cuneiform], [cuneiform], [cuneiform], or [cuneiform], is the
Assyrian word for *son*. There is a doubt about the pronunciation of
this element; in Cun. Ins. Vol. III, p. 70, l. 122, [cuneiform], *ibila*, is
given as the Akkad value, and [cuneiform], *ablu*, as the Assyrian sound;
this agrees with Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 53, l. 33, where the word is written
[cuneiform], *abil;* but against this we have to place the fact that
this word is rendered in the Hebrew and Greek, in the case of
three other names, without the initial *a*. These names are
[cuneiform], which is rendered in Hebrew

תִּגְלַתְפִּלְאֶסֶר, in the Septuagint Θαλγαθφελλασάρ, in our version Tiglath Pileser; 𒀭 𒈨𒊩𒊩𒊩 𒈨𒊩, in Hebrew מְראֹדַךְבַּלְאֲדָן, in the Septuagint Μαρωδὰχ Βαλαδάν, in our version Merodach Baladan; and 𒀭 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩, in Josephus Ναβοπαλάσσαρος, and in Ptolemy Ναβοπολλασάρου. In the case of the inscribed brick, Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 5, No. xvii, 𒉽, *pal*, is used for the word son, and the same syllable is used in the word 𒇽 𒉽 𒉽, *lib-pal-pal*, meaning grandson, or any other descent further removed than a son. From these examples I have come to the conclusion that, when in combination with other elements, the word *abil*, a son, drops its initial *a* and becomes *pil*, *bal*, or *pal*; and I have chosen the name Assurbanipal, generally used by English scholars, in preference to Asur-bani-habal, the form given by Dr. Oppert.
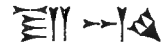
### TEXTS.

The principal texts relating to the genealogy and accession of Assurbanipal are Cylinder A, col. i, lines 1 to 50; Tablet K, 3050, which gives a very long account (an extract only from col. ii of this tablet is given); Cylinder B, col. i, lines 1 to 24 (lines 25 and 26 are lost, and lines 27 to end of introduction are identical with Cylinder A, col. i, lines 45 to 50); Tablet K, 2641, which appears to be a fragment of a letter from Assurbanipal to his father Esarhaddon; and an extract from the Sale Tablet K, 321.

### CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 50.

1. 𒀭 𒈨𒊩𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩
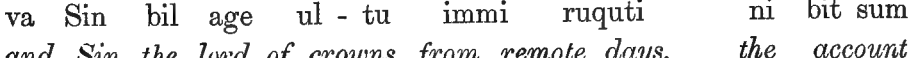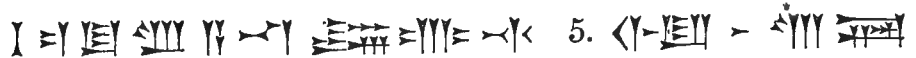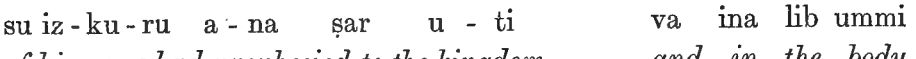
A - na - ku  Assur-bani-pal bi- nu - tu  Assur va  Bilat

*I am Assurbanipal, the progeny of Assur and Beltis,*

2. 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩 3. 𒈨𒊩 𒈨𒊩
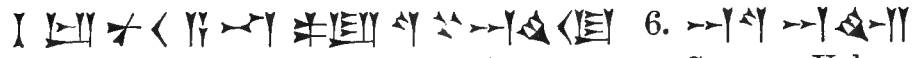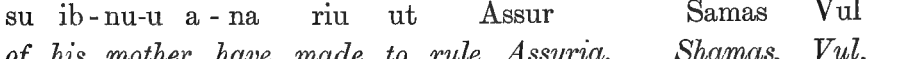
ablu  sar  rab - u  sa  Bit - rid - u  ti  sa  Assur

*son  of  the  great  king  of  Bit-riduti,  whom Assur*
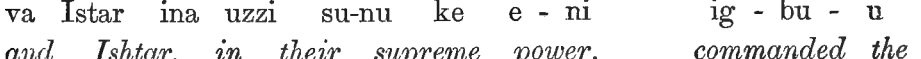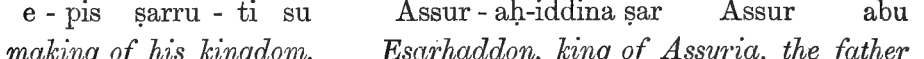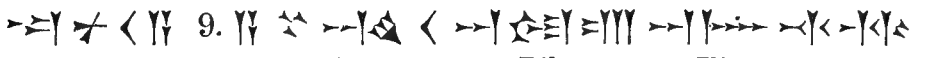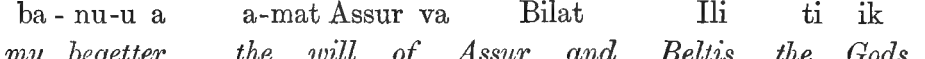
〈 ⟜⊦⟨⟨⟨ ⊸⟧ ⩫⟧⩪⟧ ⟨⊦⟡⊸⩦⟧ ⟙⟦⟼⟶ ⟩⟡⟶⟥⟦⟼ 4. ⟾⟾ ⩮⟦⟦⟦⟦ ⟩⟩
va  Sin   bil  age  ul - tu   immi   ruquti        ni   bit sum
*and  Sin  the lord of crowns, from remote days,   the   account*
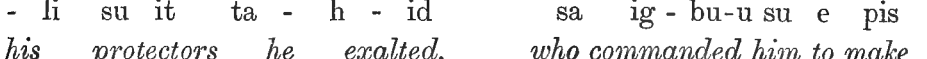
⟦ ⩮⟦ ⟦⟧⟦ ⟜⟦⟦⟦ ⟦⟦ ⟜⟦ ⩫⩮ ⩮⟦⟦⟦⩮ ⟜⟦⟨ 5. 〈⟦⟚⟧⟦ ⟼ ⟡⟦⟦⟦ ⟾⟶
su iz - ku - ru  a - na   sar   u - ti       va  ina  lib ummi
*of his name had prophesied to the kingdom,   and  in  the body*
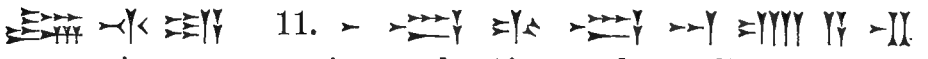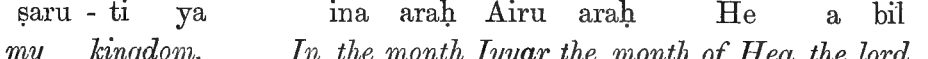
⟦ ⟝⊸⟧ ⟼⟨ ⟦⟦ ⟼⟦ ⟊⩫⟧ ⟜⟦ ⟫⟼⟥⟨⩫ 〈⟦⟧ 6. ⟜⟦⟜⟦ ⟜⟦⟁⟼⟦⟦
su ib-nu-u a - na   riu   ut   Assur        Samas   Vul
*of his mother, have made to rule Assyria.   Shamas,  Vul,*
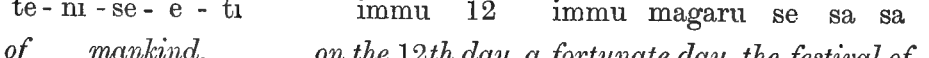
〈 ⟜⟦ 〈⟪ ⟼ ⟨⟨⟨ ⟊ ⟦ ⟊ 〈⟦⟧ ⩮⟦⟦ ⟾⟾ 7. ⟜⟦⟨⟡ ⟩⟡⟼ ⩮⟦⟦⟦⩮
va  Istar  ina  uzzi  su - nu  ke  e - ni      ig - bu - u
*and  Ishtar,  in  their  supreme  power,   commanded the*
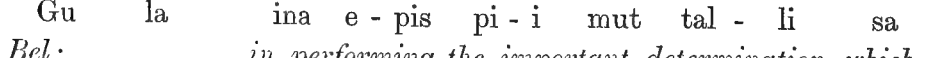
⩮⟦⟦ ⩮⟦⟦⟨ ⩫⩮ ⟜⟦⟨ ⟦ 8. ⟦⟜⟦⟁⟼ ⟼ 〈⟨ ⟩⟡⟜⟦⟁ 〈⟦⟧ ⩫⟦
 e - pis  sarru - ti  su    Assur - ah-iddina sar    Assur     abu
*making of his kingdom.   Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father*

⟜⩮⟦ ⟊ 〈 ⟦⟦ 9. ⟦⟦ ⟩⟡ ⟜⟦⟁ 〈 ⟜⟦⟁⩫⟧ ⩮⟦⟦⟦ ⟜⟦⟦⟼⟶ ⟜⟦⟨ ⟜⟦⟨⟡
ba - nu-u a       a-mat Assur va      Bilat       Ili    ti   ik
*my begetter,   the  will  of  Assur  and  Beltis  the  Gods*

⟜⩫⟧⟦ ⟦ ⩮⟡⟦ ⩫⟦⟦⟦ ⟁⟜⟦ ⩫⟡⟦ 10. ⟥⟦⟦ ⟜⟦⟨⟡ ⟩⟡⟼ 〈 ⟦ ⩮⟦⟦ ⩮⟦⟦⟨
 - li  su  it  ta - h - id        sa  ig - bu-u su  e  pis
*his  protectors  he  exalted,   who commanded him to make*

⩫⩮ ⟜⟨ ⩫⟦⟦ 11. ⟼ ⟜⟫⟦ ⩮⟦⟡ ⟜⟫⟦ ⟜⟦ ⩮⟦⟦⟦⟦ ⟦⟦ ⟜⟧
saru - ti   ya       ina  arah  Airu  arah      He    a   bil
*my  kingdom.    In the month Iyyar the month of Hea the lord*

⟩⟦ ⟾⟾ ⟩⟡ ⩮⟦⟦ ⟜⟨ 12. ⟼⟦ 〈⟦⟦⟁⟼ ⟼⟦ ⟩⟡ ⩮⟦⟦⟦⟡ ⩫⟦⟦ ⟰ ⟰
te - ni - se - e - ti     immu  12   immu  magaru  se  sa  sa
*of   mankind,    on the 12th day, a fortunate day, the festival of*

⟜⟦ ⟡⟡⟡ ⟜⟧ 13. ⟼ ⩮⟦⟦ ⩮⟦⟦⟨ ⟼⟦⟼ ⩫⩮ ⟜⟦⟨⟡ ⟜⟦⟦⟨ ⟜⩫⟧⟦ ⟥⟦⟦
Gu   la       ina  e - pis  pi - i  mut  tal - li    sa
*Bel;     in performing the important determination, which*

14. Assur    Bilat    Sin   Samas   Vul    Bel    Nabu
*Assur,*      *Beltis,*     *Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,*

15. Istar    sa     Ninua    il - ṣar - rat   Kit - mu - ri
*Ishtar*   *of*   *Nineveh*   *the*   *divine*   *queen*   *of*   *Kitmuri,*

16. Istar    sa    Arba - il    Ninip    Nergal    Nusku
*Ishtar*   *of*   *Arbela,*    *Ninip,*   *Nergal, and Nusku*

ig - bu - u      17. u - pa ḫir   nisi    Assur   zaḫiri va
*commanded :*    *he gathered the men of Assyria, small and*

18. rabati    sa tam - te   e   lit va   sap - lit     19. a - na
*great,*    *and of the upper and lower seas;*     *to the*

na - ẓir   zaḫri ṣaru - ti   ya       20. va   arku - nu
*ṣetting apart (i.e. inauguration) of my kingdom,*    *and afterwards*

ṣaru - ut   Assur    e   pe - es     21. a - de - e   ni   is
*the kingdom of Assyria I ruled.*    *The observances of*

Ili     rabati    u   sa as - kir   su - nu - ti     22. u -
*the great Gods, I caused to be performed to them,*     *I*

dan - ni - [na]   rak   ṣa   a - ti     23. ina   ḫidati
*confirmed*     *the*     *covenants.*     *With*   *joy*   *and*

ri - sa - a - ti     24. e - ru - ub   [ki - rib]   pa - ru   nak - ti
*shouting*      *I*   *entered*   *[into]*   *the*   *royal*   *gardens*

25. 𒈥𒅗 𒊬 [𒌑 𒊬 𒀭 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒄊] 𒀀𒄩 𒅕𒁀 �`�`
mar-kas ṣaru - [ti sa Sin] - aḫi - irba abu abu
*the royal property of Sennacherib, the father of the father*

𒀀 𒉺 𒁲 [𒅀] 26. 𒀀 𒊬 [𒀀 𒀀 𒊬] 𒊬 𒌓
a- lid - di [ya] aplu ṣaru [rab- u sa] ṣaru -ut
*[my] begetter,　　son of the [great] king, [who] ruled the*

𒂊 𒉺 𒋢 ina lib - bi ✳✳　　27. 𒀀 𒊬 [𒀀𒄩 𒀭 𒁕] 𒀀𒁀
e -pu-su ina lib - bi ✳✳　　a - sar [Assur -aḫ-iddina] abu
*kingdom in the midst ✳✳　　The place [Esarhaddon] the father*

𒁀 𒉡 𒌋 [𒀀]　　28. 𒆠 𒅕𒁀 ✳✳✳✳✳ 𒂊 𒉺 𒋢 𒁉 𒈜
ba - nu-u [a]　　ki - rib ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ e - pu- su bi - lut
*[my] begetter,　　within ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ruled the dominion*

𒀭 [𒀀 𒆠]　　29. 𒅀 ✳✳✳✳ 𒁀 va kim- tu u -
Assur　　Iz ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ba va kim- tu u -
*of Assyria.　　Iz ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ba, and the family*
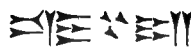
𒊬 𒀀 [𒌋𒌋𒌋]　　30. 𒀀 ✳✳✳✳ 𒁲 𒋢 𒋳 𒊬
- rap - pe - [es]　　✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ su tu sa- la ✳ ✳
*grew up　　✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ su tu sa- la ✳ ✳*
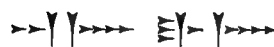
31. [𒀀 𒈾 𒆪] 𒀭 𒁀 𒊬 𒀀 𒆠 𒅕 𒋢 𒀀 𒄩 𒊻
[a- na - ku] Assur -bani-pal ki - rib - su a ḫu - uz
*[I]　　Assurbanipal　　within　　it,　　took　　care*

32. 𒉌 𒈪 𒆠 Nabu kul-lat duppi saḍr- ru ti　33. 𒊬
ni - mi- qi Nabu kul-lat duppi saḍr - ru ti　　sa
*of the wisdom of Nebo, the whole of the inscribed tablets, of*
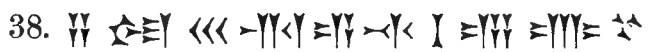
𒄀 𒈠 dup -pa- a- ni ma-la kip va aḫ - zi su-nu
gi - mir dup -pa-a-.ni ma-la kip va aḫ - zi su-nu
*all the clay tablets, the whole of their mysteries and difficulties,*

𒀀 𒄩 �alid　34. 𒀠 gis ab - sa- le - e iz-bam ru - du
a-ḫi- id　　al- gis ab - sa- le - e iz-bam ru - du
*I solved.　　al gis ab sa le,　　powerful　　bows,*
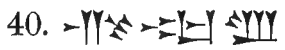
𒀹𒌋𒌋 35. 𒀹𒌋𒈾𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒌋
susi   rukubi za-mid- ṣu a-sa-a- ti ina ki - bit
*horses,*   *chariots and their harness firmly fitted. By the*
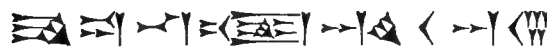
𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 36. 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋
ili  rabati  sa sip -ku ra * bit - sun
*will of the great Gods who * * * their * * *.*

𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 37. 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋
a- da -bu ba ta -us -ta su-un  ig - bu-u e -pis
*I proclaimed their laws,  they commanded the making*
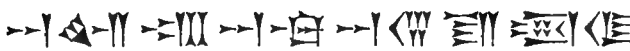
𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 38. 𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀹
ṣaru - ti ya za- nin es- re- e- ti su-un u -sad-
*of my kingdom, the embellishing of their temples, they*

𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒌋 𒌋𒌋 39. 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒀹 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋
- gi lu pa-nu-u a  ke e -mu-u a e -tap-pa- lu
*entrusted to me,  for me they exalted my*

𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 40. 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒌋
bil-u- ti ya i na - ru ga ri ya  zi - ka - ru
*dominion and cast down my enemies. The man of*
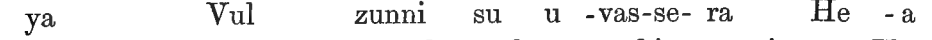
𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 41. 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋
qar-du na - ram Assur va Istar  li - id - da -tu
*war, exalted by Assur and Ishtar,  the royal off-*
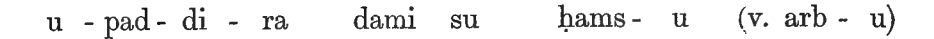
𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋 42. 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋
ṣar - u - ti a -na-ku  ul - tu Assur Sin Samas
*spring am I.  When Assur, Sin, Shamas,*
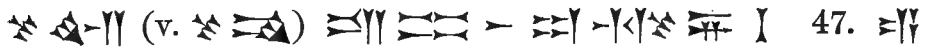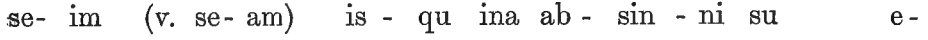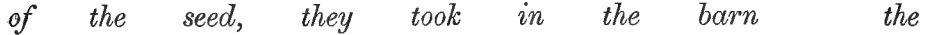
𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 43. 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋𒀹𒌋
Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua il ṣar - rat
*Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen*

𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒌋 𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒀹𒌋𒌋 𒀹𒌋𒌋𒌋
Kit-mu- ri Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku
*of Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku*
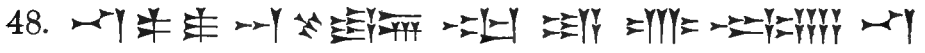
44. 𒀭 𒈨𒌍 𒂗𒈨 𒀸 ⟨𒁲 𒋫 𒁹𒈨𒌍 𒌅 — 𒅗 𒆳 𒀭𒉌 𒂖 𒇬
   ḍa   bis   u   -se- si   bu   in   -ni ina   kuzzu   abi bani
   *firmly   seated   me   on   the   throne   of   the   father   my be-*

𒂊𒅀    45. 𒄑 𒀭𒅎 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒌍 𒊻 𒊬 𒂗𒅀 𒄑 𒂖𒐊𒐊 𒈨
   ya        Vul      zunni   su   u  -vas- se- ra     He  -a
   *getter,*      *Vul*      *poured    down    his    rain,    Hea*

𒈨𒌍 ⟨𒀭 ⟨𒐊𒇬 𒂗𒅀 𒈲 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒐊    46. 𒌋 𒈨𒌍 (v. 𒀭 𒈨𒌍)
   u  - pad- di  - ra    dami su     ḥams- u   (v. arb - u)
   *feasted     his      people,     one -fifth   (v. one -fourth)*

𒊬 𒀀𒅗 (v. 𒊬 𒂄) 𒂄𒐊 𒄑𒄑 — 𒂗𒅀 𒐊⟨𒐊𒊬 𒅗 𒐊    47. 𒂗
   se- im   (v. se- am)   is - qu ina ab - sin - ni su       e-
   *of     the     seed,    they    took   in    the    barn       the*

𒐊𒐊⟨𒐊 𒐊⟨𒐊𒊬 𒂗𒐊 𒅊 𒂖𒂗𒐊 𒅇 𒈨𒌍 𒂗𒐊 ⟨𒐊𒇬 𒂖𒊩𒐊𒐊
  - ri - ik    su bul - tu   sinap- u      esir      sibirru
   *ears   of   grain   storing,   two-thirds   of   the   good   crops,*

48. 𒐊𒐊 𒁲 𒐊 𒐊𒊬 𒂗𒈨𒌍 𒂖𒇬 𒂗𒅀 𒈨𒌍 𒂖𒂗𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊
   na - pa- as     miri (?)    pi   ya    u - suḥ    na-
   *abundance     of     corn    satisfied    my    mouth,     the*

𒊬 𒐊𒐊𒀀 𒁲 𒐊𒐊𒐊    49. ▨▨▨▨▨ 𒐊𒀀 𒂖𒂄 𒂗 𒊬 𒀭 —
  -pu- gi    pa- ru      *   *   *   *    buli    su - te- sur ina
   *growing   of   fruit     *   *   *   *    cattle,    directing    in*

𒂖𒈨𒌍 ⟨𒂄 𒐊𒐊    50. ▨▨▨▨ 𒊬 𒂗𒅀 ▨▨▨ 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒂗𒅀
   ta    lit - ti      *   *   *   *   duḥ- du    *   *    -i    ya
   *good    fortune      *   *   *   *   plenty    *   *   *    my *

𒂗 𒂖𒈨𒌍 𒊬 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒂊 𒐊⟨𒐊𒊬 𒄑
   su - um - mu- ru   i - gal -lum
     *watch (?)     they     keep (?).*

EXTRACT FROM TABLET K, 3050, COLUMN II.

1. [cuneiform]
Ina araḫ Airu araḫ   He - a bel te - ni - se - e   ti
*In the month Iyyar, the month of Hea, lord of mankind,*

[cuneiform]   2. [cuneiform]
ḫat - ti   * * *   e - ru - uv - va ina Bit - ri   du - u - ti
*ḫat - ti   * * *   and I entered into   Bit-riduti,*

[cuneiform]   3. [cuneiform]
a - sar   de - e - mi va mil - [ki] * * *   ina ki bit
*the place of judgment and council * * *   by command of*

[cuneiform]
Assur abu   Ili   Maruduk bel beli   ṣar sam- [e va
*Assur, father of the Gods, and Merodach lord of lords, king of heaven [and*

[cuneiform]   4. [cuneiform]
irẓi - te]   u - sa - qa an - ni   eli   abli   ṣar
*earth];*   *they desired(?) me, and before the sons of the king,*

[cuneiform]   5. [cuneiform]
su - mi iz - kur ana ṣar - [u   ti]   e - kal ina e   ri
*my name they proclaimed to the kingdom.   The palace of my*
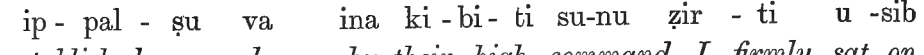
[cuneiform]
-bi ya   i da - as   gi   mir   karasi ma - li   ni   * *
*entry   knew,   all   the   camp   malini   * **
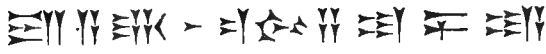
6. [cuneiform]
ḫa - du - u   rubi   su - ut - saki   u - pa - qu
*joyfully   the   princes   and   generals   listened   to the*

[cuneiform]   7. [cuneiform]
zi - kar   sap - [ti   ya]   ma - ḫar   ṣar abu ba   ni
*commands   of [my]   lips;   in the presence of the king*

C
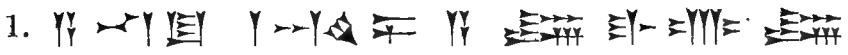
ya   zab - tak  ab - bu   su -nu  bu- su - ris    * * * *
*the father my begetter, in order(?) I placed(?) them as* * * * *
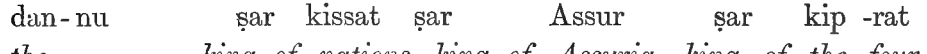
8.    Ili      rabati   ip - se - te   ya   damiqti   ha-dis
*The    great   Gods   my    good   deeds   joyfully*
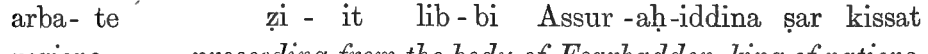
ip - pal - su  va    9.  ina ki - bi- ti su-nu  zir - ti  u -sib
*established,  and    by their high command I firmly sat on*
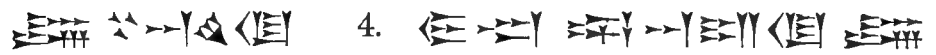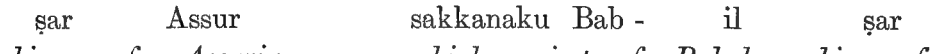
'da - a - bis ina  kuzzu  abi bani ya
*the  throne of the father my begetter.*
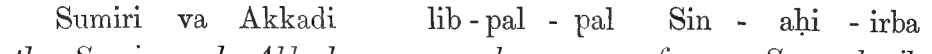
CYLINDER B, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 24.

1.  A - na - ku  Assur -bani-pal  sar  rab- u   sar
*I am Assurbanipal the great king, the powerful king,*
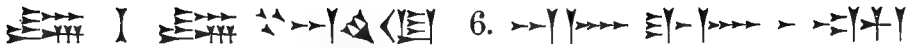
dan- nu   2.  sar kissat sar   Assur   sar  kip -rat
*the   king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four*
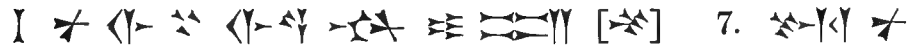
arba- te   3.  zi - it  lib - bi  Assur -ah-iddina sar kissat
*regions;  proceeding from the body of Esarhaddon, king of nations,*
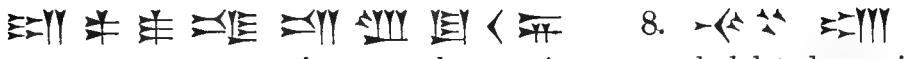
sar    Assur   4.  sakkanaku Bab -  il    sar
*king  of  Assyria,    high priest of Babylon, king of*

Sumiri  va  Akkadi   5.  lib- pal - pal  Sin - ahi - irba
*the Sumir and Akkad;  grandson    of    Sennacherib,*
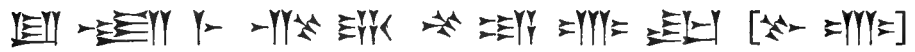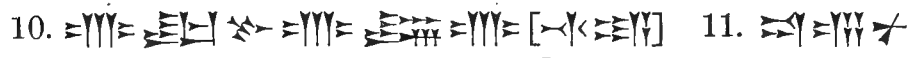
6. šar -kissat šar    Assur       Ili    rabati ina puḫri
*king of nations, king of Assyria.* *The  great  Gods  in   their*

7. su - nu si - mat damiq  te   i - sim  [mu]      uz   nu
*assembly   a   good  account  have  heard,          and*
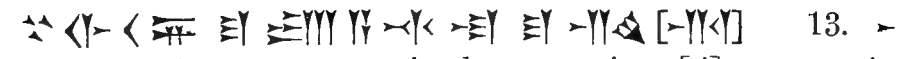
8. ra - pa - as - tu   is - ru - ku - u - ni        kul-lat duppani
*attentive      ears     have      given;       and to all ·the*

9. saḍr ru - ti   u  sa-ḫi- zu   ka   ra  si    ina puḫri
*inscribed tablets they caused my mind to attend.    In    the*

lu  li - mi   zi  kar  sum- ya   u - sar -[bu  u]
*assembly of the mighty, the renown of my name they magnified,*
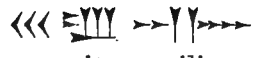
10. u - sar - bu - u   šar   u -[ti  ya]   11. du - un -nu
*and      enlarged    [my]    empire.       Strength,*

12. zik  ru -u- tu   e -mu-qa- an  zi - ra -[a - ti]      u
*renown,      and     powerful    forces         they*
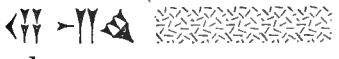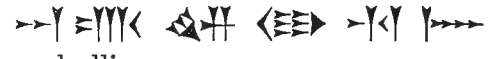
13. -sat-lim-u- ni  ma- ta -a- ti  la  ma- gi  [ri]      ina
*increased   to   me,  and  countries  disobedient     into*
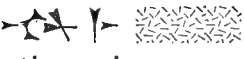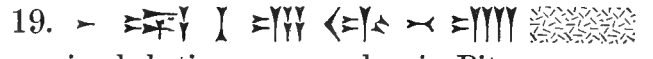
qati  ya   im  nu - u   u - sam- ẓu    in - [ni  va]
*my  hand  they  gave.   They  strengthened(?)   me   and*

14. sa - an  gu - ti   iḫ   *  *  *  *    15. na - dan
*the      priests    *  *  *  *  *          the*

𒀀𒁉𒅀 𒄿𒇻 𒂊𒇷 𒅋(?) ✳ ✳ ✳          16. 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒂊𒋾𒈠 𒅋𒄿
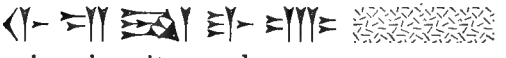
zi  bi  ya   i  lu  eli  il(?)  *  *  *              es - rit    ili

*gifts of my fingers, the Gods over  *  *  *         the     temples   of*

𒂊𒇷𒉌 𒁁𒇷 𒂊𒅀 ✳ ✳ ✳          17. 𒀀𒀀𒅀 𒁉 𒊓

rabati      beli      ya   *  *  *                *  *  bi   sa

*the  great  Gods  my  lords  *  *  *                 *  *  bi   of*

𒄾 𒄭𒊕 ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳          18. 𒋢𒆪𒇷 𒄖𒆤 𒌋𒉌 𒈠

ḫuraẓ   *  *  *  *                 sukulli  - -   -  - - -

*gold.   *  *  *  *                 winged        figures(?),*

𒁴𒈪 ✳ ✳ ✳          19. 𒄿𒈾 𒁀𒁀𒋾 𒋢𒌦 𒌌𒍣 𒁲 ✳ ✳ ✳
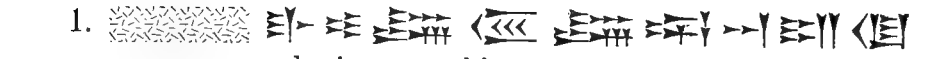
tim -mi  *  *  *            ina babati su- un   ul -ziz Bit   *  *  *

*columns  *  *  *            in  their  gates  I  set  up,  Bit   *  *  **

20. 𒁲𒈠𒋢 𒁲𒈜𒈠𒋾 𒁲 ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳          21. 𒆠𒈠

Bit -mas masu  Bit -bilat- matati  Bit  *  *  *  *              ki -ma

*Bit  mas masu,  Bit  bilat  matati,  Bit  *  *  *  *             like  α*

𒅆 𒅆𒀉 𒊏𒌋 ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳          22. 𒀠𒇌 𒈾𒊍 ✳ ✳ ✳

si  ṣi - it   rab- u   *  *  *  *                 allat  nap-sat  *  *  *

*great   *  *  *   *  *  *                         lady  of  life  *  *  **

23. 𒂊𒇷 ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳          24. 𒆗𒁻 vad-duk ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳

e    li   *  *  *  *                 vad-duk  *  *  *  *

*over   *  *  *  *                  *  *  *  *  *  *  **


## FRAGMENT OF A LETTER, K, 2641.

1. ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ 𒊏𒁉 𒊬 𒆧 𒊬 𒁀𒉈 𒅋𒄿

  *  *  *  *  rab- i   ṣar  kissat  ṣar  Bab-      ili

  *  *  *  *  *  great,  king  of  nations,  king  of  Babylon,*

2. ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ 𒊬 𒀀𒁉 𒀀 𒆠𒁉𒈠          3. ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ 𒌋

  *  *  *  *  ṣar  a- bi  ya  ki -bi va        *  *  *  *  u

  *  *  *  *  the king my father in consort with me ;  *  *  *  *  *

𒊬 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒊬 Assur ablu ka - a va    4. ※※※※※

şar  kissat  şar   Assur  ablu  ka - a va         * * * *

*king of  nations,  king  of  Assur,  thy  son,  and*        * * * *

rabati su    5. ※※※※※※  dan-nis lu - u  şalim - mu

rabati  su       * * * * * *  dan-nis lu - u   şalim - mu

*his   great*       * * * * * *       *much*    *peace*    * *

6. ※※※※※ a-ma    7. ※※※※※ ya    Rest of obverse lost.

   * * * * a - ma       * * * * ya

   * * * * *          * * * * *

   * * * * *          * * * * *

   * * * * *          * * * * *

   * * * * *          * * * * *

   (*my*)

On reverse :

1. ※※※※※ bani-pal    2. ※※※※※ Assur

   * * * bani-pal        * * * Assur

   * * * *banipal*        * * * *Assyria.*

The following is the most probable restoration of this fragment :

" [To Esarhaddon] the great [king], king of nations, king of
" Babylon, [king of the four regions,] the king my father in consort
" with me ; [from Assurbanipal] the great [king], king of nations,
" king of Assyria, thy son * * * * his great [men (?) to the king my
" lord, may there be] much peace * * * * * my * * * * *."

On reverse : " [Palace of Assur]banipal [king of nations, king
" of] Assyria."

## DATE ON SALE TABLET K.

Ina arah  abu  immu   27   li - mu  Mar - la -  rim

*In the month of Ab, the 27th day, the eponymy of Marlarmi, the*

| tur - tan | Ku | * | * | ina | tar - iz | Assur -bani - | pal | şar |
| *tartan* | *Ku* | * | *in the beginning* | *[of the reign]* | *of Assurbanipal,* |

Assur
*king of Assyria.*

From these texts we learn that Assurbanipal was the son of
Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, and that he was made
king of Assyria during his father's lifetime, on the 12th day of the
month Iyyar (April), in the eponymy of Marlarim ; which, according
to the Assyrian eponym canon, was B.C. 668 ; and this year is
further given in Ptolemy's canon as the last year of Esarhaddon.
Ptolemy's list for this period being—

Ασαριδινου     νγ´ [13 years]   π´ [end 60 year N.]   B.C. 680-668.
Σαοςδουχίνου   χ´ [20 years]    ρ´ [end 80 year N.]   B.C. 667-648.

Saosduchin, the successor of Esarhaddon at Babylon (according to
Ptolemy), is the brother of Assurbanipal, usually called Saulmugina.
He was made tributary king of Babylon, on the death of Esarhaddon
(see Part ix).

# PART II.

*The First Egyptian War.*
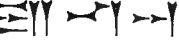
TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history are, Cylinder A, col. i, line 51, to col. ii, line 60 ; Cylinder B, col. i, line 34, to col. ii, line 22. The text of Cylinder B being in most places the same as Cylinder A only the variant passages need notice ; the same may be said of Cylinder C, which has one variant passage, but otherwise agrees with Cylinder B. Cylinder E gives a different text, part only of which is preserved. Tablet K, 3083, has a passage connecting this text with that of the large Egyptian Tablets, K, 2675, and K, 228. Beside the Assyrian texts it is necessary here to give some notice of the Egyptian inscriptions bearing on the subject.
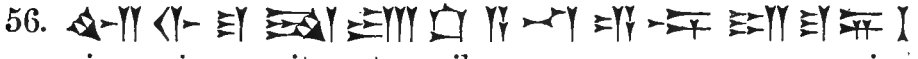
CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINE 51, TO COLUMN II, LINE 60.

51.  𒐏
I - na - mah - re - e   gar- ri   ya   a - na   Ma -gan
*In*    *my*    *first*    *expedition*    *to*    *Makan*

52.  
va   Mi - luh -ha   lu -u- al   lik   Tar- qu - u   sar   Mu -zur
*and*   *Meroe*   *I*   *went.*   *Tirhakah*   *king*   *of*   *Egypt*

    53.
Ku - u - si      sa   Assur -ah-iddina sar    Assur
*and*   *Ethiopia,*     *of whom Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the*

𒀀𒁍   𒁀-𒉡-𒌋 𒀀   𒀝𒁲𒋫 𒋢 𒄑-𒆪-𒉡 𒉿      54. 𒄿 -𒁉- 𒇻
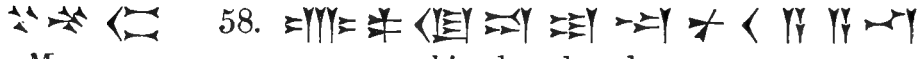
abu ba -nu-u a   abikta su is -ku-nu va      i -bi- lu

*father my begetter, his overthrow had accomplished;*      *and  had*

𒆳 𒋢   𒉿   𒋢 - 𒌋   𒋻- �qu - 𒌋      55. 𒁕 - 𒈾 - 𒀭

mat ṣu   va   su - u   Tar- qu - u      da - na - an

*taken possession of his country; and he Tirhakah,*    *the power of*

𒀭   𒀭   𒉿   𒀭   rabati   beli   ya

Assur   Istar   va   Ili   rabati   beli   ya

*Assur   Ishtar   and   the   great   Gods   my   lords*
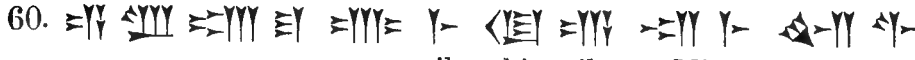
56.   im - si va   it - ta -gil a - na   e -muq   ra -ma- ni su

*despised,   and   trusted   to   his   own   might.*

57.   e - li   ṣarri   ke   (e) -pa-a-ni   sa   ki rib

     *Of   the   kings   and   governors   whom   in   the   midst*
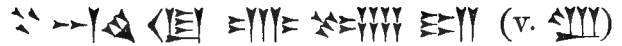
Mu - ẓur      58.   u -pa- ki -du abu ba -nu-u a a - na

*of Egypt,*      *the father   my   begetter   had   appointed;*
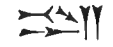
da -a- ki   hab (v. ha- ba) -a- te      59.   va   e -kim

*to    slay,      plunder,      and   to   capture*

(v. ki -mu)   Mu - ẓur   il - li -kan   ẓir - us -su-un

     *Egypt,    he    came    against      them;*

60.   e - ru - uv -va   u -sib ki rib   Mi - im - pi

     *he    entered,    and    sat   in   Memphis,   the*

61.   alu sa abu ba nu - u   a   ik su - du va a - na

     *city which the father my begetter had taken, and to the*

⟨≒ ⋊⊢⫪⫪⟨    62. ⟡ ⊢⊣⟨⬦ ⟨⧉ ⊨⫪⫪⊨ ⋇⊨⫪⫪⫪⫪ ⊨⫪⫪ (v. ⫥⫪⫪)

me - ṣir      Assur    u - tir - ra    (v. ru)

*boundaries*     *of*    *Assyria*    *had*    *added.*   *I*    *was*
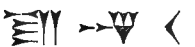
⊨⟨⟨⟩ ⊢⊨⫪ ⧉ ⫪⫪⟨ ⊢⊢⫪ ⫪⫪⫪⫨ ⊢ ⟨⧉ ⊨⫪⫪⫪ ⋛⋛⟨ ⟨⧉    63. ⊨⋋⊢⫪

al la - ku ḫa - an - du ina ki rib   Ninua      il

*walking round in the midst of Nineveh,*     *and*

⫪⊢⫪ ⊨⬦ ⊨⫪ ⊨⫪⫪⊨ ⩊ ⊢⊢⫪ ⊢⊢⫪ ⫪⫪ ⊨⊨⫪⫪ ⫪⫪ ⊣⫪⟨    64. ⟨⊢⊣⫫

-lik - av - va   u   sa - an   na - a   ya - a - ti      eli

*one came and repeated [this] to me;*     *over*
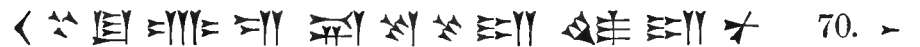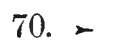
⫫⊢⫪ ⋇ ⊨⫪ ⊣⫪⟨ ⊢⊢⫪ ⊢⊢⫪ ⫪⫪ ⊣⫪⟨    65. ⋋⫪⫪ ⊐ ⊨⊨ ⫪⫪⟨⋛⟨

ip - se - e - ti   an - na   a - ti      lib - bi   i   gug

    *these*     *things*          *my*     *heart*

(v. ⟡⋋ ⋛⋋⋋⫪) ⊨⫪ ⊢⫪ ⫪⫪ ⋋⫪⫪ ⬦⊢⫪⫪⫪ ⊢⫫⫪ ⊢⋋ ⊣⫪⟨    66. [⊢

(v. gu - ug)   va iz - za - ru - uḫ    ka - bi ti     [ina

*was*   *bitter*    *and*    *much*    *afflicted;*     [*by*

⟨⧉ ⊨⫪⫪⫪⫪] ⊢⊢⫪⬦ ⟨ ⊢⊢⫪ ⟨⫪⫪ ⊢⋇ ⊨⊨ [⊢⊨⊨⫪]    67. ⊨⊨⫪ ⟨⧉ ⊨⫪⫪

ki - bit] Assur va Istar Assur - i - [tu]     ad - ke - e

*the command] of Assur and the Goddess Assuritu*     *I*

⊨⋛⋛⋛ ⊨⫪⫪ ⋇ ⟨⧉ ⊨⫪⫪ ⊨⫪⫪ ⊨⫪⫪ ⫪⫪ ⊣⫪⟨    68. ⊨⫪⫪⫪ ⊢⊢⋇ ⟨

e - mu ki ya ẓi ra a - ti      sa Assur va

*gathered*    *my*    *powerful*    *forces,*    *which Assur and*

⊢⊢⫪ ⟨⫪⫪ ⊨⫪⫪⫪⊨ ⋛⋛⊢⫪ ⫫⊨⫪⫪ ⟨ ⋋⊢⫪ ⊢⊨⊨⫪ ⟨ ⫪⫪    69. ⫪⫪ ⊢⊢⫪ ⟡⋇ ⟨⊐

Istar   u - mal - lu - u qa - tu - u a    a - na   Mu - ẓur

*Ishtar had placed in my hands.*     *To*     *Egypt*

⟨ ⟡ ⧉ ⊨⫪⫪⊨ ⊢⫪ ⋛⊢⫪ ⋇⫪ ⋇ ⊨⫪⫪ ⬦⊨ ⊨⫪⫪ ⊬    70. ⊢

va Ku - u - ṣi us - te - se - ra   mur - ra - nu     ina

*and*    *Ethiopia*   *I*   *directed*   *the*    *march;*     *in*

⫪⊢ ⊣⫪⟨ ⊢⫪⟨⋋ ⊨⫪⫪⟨ ⊢⫪⟨⫪ ⊨⫪⫪ ⟨⟨ ⫪⫪ ⊢⊢⫪ ⫪⫪ ⋛⋛⫪⫪ ⫪⊢⊢⊢    71. ⊨⫪⫪

mi - ti iq gar - ri ya   22     ṣarri     sa

*the*    *course*   *of*   *my*   *expedition*   *22*   *kings*      *of*

a   ḫi   [tam - ti   va   qabal   tam - ti]     ka - li
*the   side   of   the   [sea   and   the   middle   of   the   sea,]   all*

72.    ardi     da -[gil pa- ni   ya]     73.   ina maḫ - ri   ya
*tributaries    dependent   [on   me],     to    my     presence*

[il    lik - u- niv - va    u - na - as   si - qu     niri    ya]
   *[came      and      kissed     my      feet].*

74.    ṣarri    sa - a - tu -[nu] * * * *    75.   ina tam- ti
    *Those    kings   *    *    *   *   *      on     sea*

va   na   ba - [li    gar - ri - ti   su - nu   u - ẓab - bit]
   *and      land    [their     roads     I      took,]*

76.   ur - ḫu   pa- da - nu   *   *   *   *   *      77.   a - na
   *the    straight   path   *   *   *   *   *   *       for*

na   ra - ru   ti   ḫa-maḍ sa    ṣarri     ki -pa- a - ni
*the   entire   aid   (i.e. restoration)   of   the   kings   and   governors*

78.   sa   ki - rib   Mu - ẓur    ardi    (ni)   da - gil pa - ni
   *who   in   the   midst   of   Egypt   (were)   tributaries   dependent   on*

ya     79.   ur - ru   hi   is    ar - de - e   va   al   lik
*me;     quickly     I    descended    and     went*
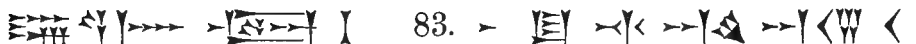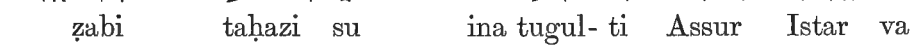
a- di    Kar   ba   ni   ti     80.   Tar - qu   u    ṣar
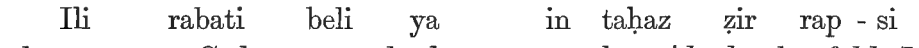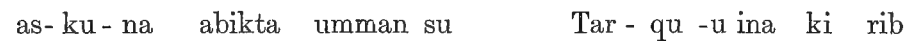*to     Karbanit.      Tirhakah     king*

81. 𒀫𒌷 𒆪𒌑𒋛 𒆠 𒊑𒅁 𒈪 - 𒅎 - 𒉿 𒀀 - 𒋰

Mu ẓur va Ku -u- ṣi ki rib Mi - im -pi a - lak

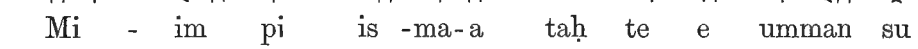*of Egypt* and *Ethiopia, in the midst of Memphis,* *of the*

gar - ri ya is - me - e va a na e - pis qabal

*progress* *of* *my* *expedition* *heard;* and *to* *make* *war,*
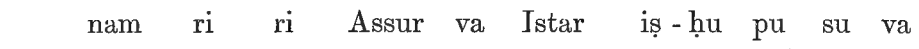
82. kakki taḥaz a - na maḥ ri ya id ka - a

*fighting* and *battle,* *to* *my* *presence* *he* *gathered* *the*
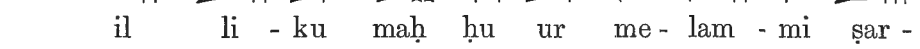
ẓabi taḥazi su 83. ina tugul- ti Assur Istar va

*men* *of* *his* *army.* *In the service of Assur, Ishtar, and*
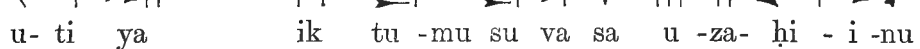
Ili rabati beli ya 84. in taḥaz ẓir rap - si

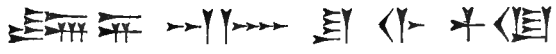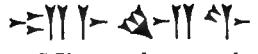*the* *great* *Gods,* *my* *lords,* *on the wide battle field* I

as- ku - na abikta umman su 85. Tar - qu -u ina ki rib

*accomplished the overthrow of his army.* *Tirhakah in the midst of*

Mi - im pi is -ma-a taḥ te e umman su
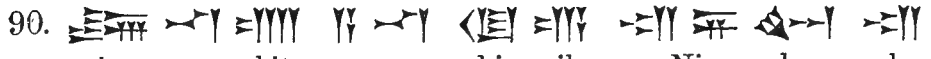
*Memphis,* *heard* *of* *the* *defeat* *of* *his* *army;*

86. nam ri ri Assur va Istar iṣ - ḥu pu su va

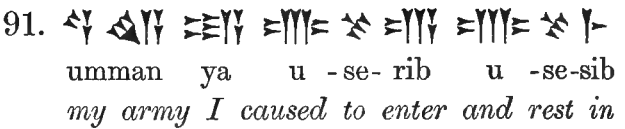*the* *terror* *of* *Assur* and *Ishtar* *overcame* *him,* and

87. il li - ku maḥ ḥu ur me - lam - mi ṣar -

*he* *went* *back(?),* *my* *royal*

u - ti ya 88. ik tu -mu su va sa u -za- ḥi - i -nu

*advance* *overwhelmed* *him,* and *they* *brought(?)*
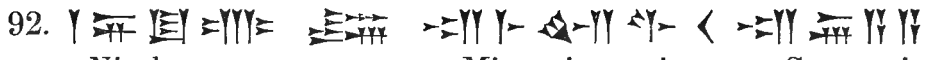
in    ni    Ili    su  pan mas- ki      89.    Mi - im - pi
*to me(?) his Gods before my camp,*         *Memphis*

u -vaṣ- ṣir   va   a- na   su   zu   ub  napis- ti   su
*he     abandoned,    and     to    save    his     life*

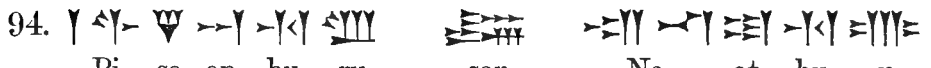90.    in  na - bit  a- na   ki - rib   Ni - ha   alu
     *he      fled     into    Thebes.     That    city*

su -a-tu  aṣ -bat     91.   umman  ya   u -se- rib   u -se-sib
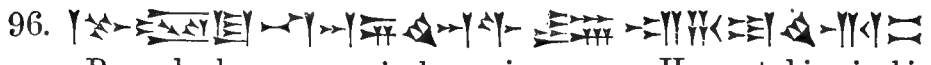*I     took,*        *my army I caused to enter and rest in*
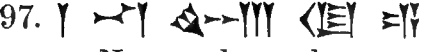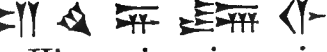
i - na    lib - bi
*the  midst  of  it.*
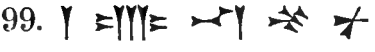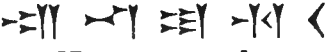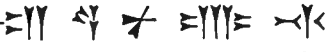
92.   Ni  ku - u    ṣar    Mi - im - pi  va   Ṣa - ai
     *Necho    king of      Memphis   and    Sais.*

93.   Ṣar  lu  da   ri      ṣar      Ẓi - hi - nu
     *Sarludari      king of      Pelusium(?).*

94.   Pi - sa - an - ḥu   ru     ṣar     Na - at - ḥu - u
     *Pisan-hor      king of.     Natho.*

95.   Pa   aq - ru - ru     ṣar     (Pi) - sab - tu
     *Paqruru      king of     Pi-supt.*

96.   Pu- uk -na -an-ni - ha - pi   ṣar    Ḥa - at-ḥi - ri - bi
     *Pukkunanni-hapi     king of    Athribis.*

97.  Na - aḫ - ke - e   ṣar   Ḫi - ni - in - si
     *Nech-ke*        *king of*   *Henins.*

98.  Pu - ḍu   bis - ti   ṣar   Za - ḫa - nu
     *Petubastes*      *king of*   *Tanis.*

99.  U - na - mu - nu   ṣar   Na - at - ḫu - u
     *Unamunu*        *king of*   *Natho.*

100.  Ḫar - ṣi - ya   e - su   ṣar   Zab - nu - u - ti
      *Horsiesis*        *king of*   *Sebennytus.*

101.  Bu   u - ai - va   ṣar   Bi   in   di - di
      *Buaiuva*        *king of*   *Mendes.*

102.  Ṣu - ṣi   in   qu   ṣar   Bu - si - ru
      *Sheshonk*        *king of*   *Busiris.*

103.  Tap - na - aḫ - ti   ṣar   Bu - nu - bu
      *Tnephachthus*      *king of*   *Bunubu.*

104.  Pu   uk - ku - na - an - ni   ha - pi   ṣar   Aḫ - ni
      *Pukkunanni-ḥapi*                *king   of   Akhni.*

105.  Ip - ti - ḫar - ḍe - e - su   ṣar   Pi - za - at - ti - ḫu - ru - un - pi - ku
      *Iptikhardesu*   *king of*        *Pazatti-hurunpiku.*

106.  Na - aḫ - ti - ḫu - ru - an - si - ni   ṣar   Pi - sab - ḍi - nu - ti
      *Necht-hor-ansini*           *king of*        *Pi-sabdinut.*

107. Bu -kur- ni - ni - ip     ṣar     Pa - aḥ -nu- ti
     *Bukur-ninip*          *king of*      *Pachnut.*

108. Zi - ḥa - a     ṣar     Si - ya   a - u - ut
     *Zikha*       *king of*     *Siyout.*

109. La - mi- in  - tu     ṣar     Ḥi   mu- ni
     *Lamintu*          *king of*      *Chemmis.*

110. Is - pi -ma-a- ḍu     ṣar     Ta   - ai - ni
     *Ispimathu*         *king of*      *Abydos.*

111. Ma - an   ti -mi- an -ḥe   e     ṣar     Ni - ha
     *Munti-mi-anche*              *king of*      *Thebes.*

112.     ṣarri     an -nu- ti   sanuti     ki - pa-a- ni
     *These       kings,      prefects,     and      governors,*

113. sa     ki   rib   Mu - ẓur     u - pa- ki   ḍu   abu
     *whom in the midst of Egypt, the father my begetter had*

ba - nu-u  a     114.   sa  la  pa- an   ti   bu-ut  Tar - qu   u
*appointed;*        *who   before   the   advance   of   Tirhakah*

115. pi  kit- ta  su- un   u - vas-se- ru   im   lu -u  ẓer
     *their   appointments   had   left,   and   fled   to   the   desert,*

116. u - tir   va  a- sar   pi - kit- ti  su- un     117.   ina
     *u - tir   va  a- sar   pi - kit- ti  su- un*           *ina*
     *I restored; and the places of their appointments*           *in*

𒆜 𒈗 𒍗 𒀭 𒂠 𒐊 𒂠 𒐊 𒈨 𒆜 𒀉𒌋     118. 𒊌 𒌋 𒀭

mas- gar - i   su- un    ap -kid    ṣu -nu- ti        Mu - ẓur

*their*     *divisions,*     *I*     *appointed*     *them.*       *Egypt and*

119.

Ku -u- ṣi   sa abu ba -nu-u a   ik   su- du        a - na

*Ethiopia, which the father my begetter had captured,*      *again*

es -su - ti    aẓ -bat    mazirti    e   li    sa im-mi pa- ni

*I*     *took,*     *the*     *bonds*     *more*     *than*     *in*     *former*     *days*

120.

     u -dan- nin   va    u -rak- ki - ṣa    rak - ṣa -a - ti

     *I*    *strengthened,*    *and*    *joined*   *[the kings]*   *in*    *covenant.*

121.

     it - ti    ḫu - ub    ti ma - h    di    sal la - ti

     *With*     *abundant*     *plunder*     *and*     *much*

ka - bit - ti      122.    sal -mi - is   a - tu - ra   a - na

*spoil*            *in*    *peace*    *I*    *returned*    *to*

Ninua      123.   arka - nu   (v. ar   ka - a-nu)    ṣarri

*Nineveh.*      *Afterwards*      *all*      *those*      *kings*
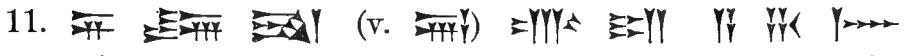
an nu - ti ma- la   ap   ki   du      124.    ina a - di   ya

*whom*     *I*     *had*     *appointed*       *sinned against me;*
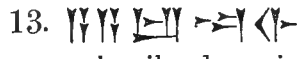
iḫ - du   u    la iẓ- ẓu   ru ma-mit Ili    rabati

*they*    *did*    *not*    *keep*    *the*    *oath*    *of*    *the*    *great*    *Gods.*

## Column II.

1. 𒀭 𒁉 𒌷 𒋗 𒋾 𒅎 𒋢 𒈠
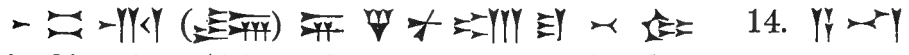
Seme e - bu - uṣ ṣu - nu - ti im - su va

*The good I did to them they despised,* · · · ·

2. 𒇷 𒁀 𒋢 𒉡 (𒋾) 𒅅 𒁍 𒌓 𒇷 𒈬 𒋾 3. 𒁕 𒁁

ʻlib - ba su - nu - (ti) ik - bu - ud limutti da - bab-

*and their hearts devised evil; seditious*

(𒋾) 𒍗 𒊏 𒀀 𒋾 𒀉 𒁍 𒁍 �408 4. 𒈪 𒇠 𒆷

(ti) ṣur - ra - a - ti id - bu - bu va mi - lik la

*words they spoke, and evil council*

𒆪 �4 𒈪 (v. 𒅎) 𒇷 𒆪 �textra 𒈜 𒀭 𒌦

ku - sir mi (v. im) - li - ku ra - man su - un

*they counselled among themselves;*

5. 𒌝 𒈠 Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu - ẓur

*thus: "Tirhakah from the midst of Egypt*

6. 𒄿 - na - kit - u va at - tu - ni a - sa - ba ni

*is cut off, and to us our seats*

𒈪 - i - nu 7. 𒂊 - li Tar - qu u ṣar ku - u - ṣi

*remain(?)." Unto Tirhakah king of Ethiopia*

8. a - na sa - kan a - de - e va ṣa - li - mi 9. u - ma-

*to make agreement and alliance they*

he - e ru rak - be - e su un 10. um - ma

*directed their messengers, thus:*

ṣu lum - mu　u ina bi　ri　in　ni lis - sa　kin va
*" May　an　alliance　by　this　treaty　be　established,　and*

11.　ni　in　id　(v. dag)　ga　ra　a - ḫa　mis
*we　will　help　each　other ;*

12.　mat a - ḫe - en - na - a　ni　zu　uz va　　13.　ai　ib - ba　si
*the country on the other side we will strengthen, and　may　there　not*

in bi　ri　(-in) - ni　sa - nu - uv - va be　luv　　14.　a - na
*be　in　this　treaty　any　other　lord."　Against*

umman　Assur　e - muq bi - lu - ti - ya　　15.　sa　a - na
*the army of Assyria the force of my dominion,　which　to*

kit - ri　su - nu　us　zi　zu　is　te - ni　hu - u
*their　aid　had　been　raised,　they　devised*

16.　a - mat limut - ti　su - ut - saki　ya　a - ma - a - ti
*a　wicked　plot.　My　generals　of　this　plot*

17.　an - na - a - ti　is - mu - u　rak - be - e su　un　　18.　a - di
*heard ;　their　messengers　and*

sip - ra　a - ti su - nu iz - ba　tu - niv　va　e　mu - ru
*their　dispatches　they　captured,　and　saw*

19.　ip - sit　ṣur - ra　a - ti　su - un　ṣarri　an - nu　ti
*their　seditious　work.　These　kings*

E

20. [cuneiform]
iẓ-bat-u - niv - va ina bi - ri    ti   parzil(?) is - qa - ti
*they    took;   and   in   bonds   of   iron   and   fetters   of*

[cuneiform]    21. [cuneiform]
parzil(?)          u -tam-mi-ḫu qati va  niri ma-mit Assur
*iron,*                *bound their hands and feet.   The oath of Assur*

[cuneiform]    22. [cuneiform]
ṣar      Ili              ik - su - uṣ   ṣu -nu- ti  va    sa
*king of the Gods*           *took              them             who*

[cuneiform]    23. [cuneiform]
iḫ - ḍu - u              ina a - de - e    (Ili)   rabati
*sinned*                 *against    the    great    (Gods);*

[cuneiform]    24. [cuneiform]
ḍa - ab - ti  qa -tus su- un   u   ba - ḫi - i va           sa
*who had sought the  good  of their  hands, and          who*

[cuneiform]    25. [cuneiform]
e - pu-su ṣu -nu- ti  du - un - qu        va    nisi
*had    given   them    favours;      and   the   people*

[cuneiform]
Ṣa - ai    Bi    in - di  di    Za - ḫa - nu
*of    Sais,       Mendes,        Zoan,*

26. [cuneiform]
[va    ṣi - it] - ti   alani   ma - la   it   ti
[and]   the    rest   of    the    cities,   all   with

[cuneiform]    27. [cuneiform]
su-nu * * *              * * *  a -mat limut - (ti)  zaḫiri va
*them * * *              * * *  evil   design.    Small   and*

[cuneiform]    28. [cuneiform]
rabati ina   kakki    u   sam  [ki - tu]      * * * lu
*great with the sword they caused to be destroyed      * * * *

[cuneiform] 29. [cuneiform]

la e - zi - bu ina lib - bi     [pagari su]-nu i lu - lu

*did not leave in the midst.*     *Their corpses they threw down*

[cuneiform] 30. [cuneiform]

ina ga si - si     * * * * * * - ḍu

*in the dust,*     * * * * * * *they*

[cuneiform] 31. [cuneiform]

u ḥal- li bu dur ali     ṣarani [an - nu]- ti

*destroyed the towers of the cities.*     *These kings, who*

[cuneiform] 33. [cuneiform]

sa limut [ti] is te - ni - hu - u     a - na

*had devised evil*     *against*

[cuneiform]

ummani Assur bal - ḍu - (uṣ) ṣu - nu a na

*the army of Assyria,*     *alive . to*

[cuneiform] 33. [cuneiform]

Ninua a- di maḥ [ri] ya u - bil -u- ni

*Nineveh into my presence they brought.*

34. [cuneiform]

a - na Ni - ku - u * * * * tu * * ri -su- nu

*To Necho* * * * * * * *of them,*

35. [cuneiform]

re e -mù ar - si su va kit - ti * * * *

*favour I granted him, and a covenant* * * *

36. [cuneiform]

a - de - e eli sa maḥ ri u -sa- tir va it - ti

*observances stronger than before I caused to be restored, and with*

[cuneiform] 37. [cuneiform]

su as-pur lu -bul- tu bir -mi u lab - bi su

*him I sent.*     *Costly garments I placed upon him,*

(va)   al   lu   ḫuraẓ      38.   ṣi -mat ṣaru - ti su as-   kun
*ornaments   of   gold,*      *his   royal   image   I   made   for*

su     semiri     ḫuraẓ     u -[rak- ki  ṣa] sangu- te - (e) su
*him,   rings   of   gold   I   fastened   on   his   feet,*

39.   gir   (parzil)   sib - bi   sa      ah     zu   su   ḫuraẓ
*a   scimitar   (of   steel,)   its   sheath   of   gold,*

40.   ni   bit   sum   ya   * * * * * a-din su      41.   ruqubi
*the glory of my name * * * * * I gave him.*      *Chariots,*

susi                  pari                  42.   a - [na
*horses,        and      mules*                  *for   his*

ṣaru]   ti   su   a - kiṣ   su      43.   su  -ut-   saki
*kingdom   I   appointed;*      *my   generals*

ya      sanuti     a- na   [Mu - ẓur   it]   ti  su      44.
*as   governors,   to   [Egypt]   with   him   I*

as- pur      45.   a - sar abu ban-u a ina     sa  - ai  a- na
*sent.*      *The place where the father my begetter, in Sais to*

ṣar   u - te   ip - kid - du  su      46.   a   na   mas- gar- i  su
*the kingdom had appointed him,*      *to   his   district   I*

u  -  tir  su      47.   (va)   Nabu   se -zib-a - ni ablu su
*restored   him;*      *(and)   Neboshazban   his   son*

ina  [Ḫa]  at - ḫa- ri  ba    48. ḍabtu (v. ḍa - ab - tu)
*in*    *Athribes.*    *Benefits  and  favours,*

damqatu  eli  sa abi ba - ni - ya    49.  u - sa- tir
*beyond [those] of the father my begetter,*  *I caused to restore,*

va e- pu- uṣ - ṣu    50. Tar- qu -u a [na Ku u ṣi]
*and  gave  to  him.*    *Tirhakah  to  [Ethiopia]*

in - nab- tu    51. su - ru -bat kakki Assur bil ya
  *fled;*    *the might of the soldiers of Assur my*

iṣ - ḫup  su  va    52. il - lik simti mu si su
*lord overwhelmed him, and*  *he went to his place of night (i.e. died).*

53. arka - nu  Ur - da - ma - ne  e  ablu  bilati  su
  *Afterwards  Rudammon,  son  of  his  consort,*
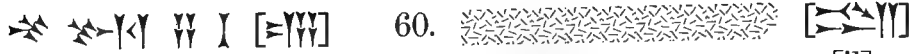
54. u - sib ina kuzzu ṣaru ti su    55. Ni - ha
  *sat  on  his  royal  throne.*  *Thebes*
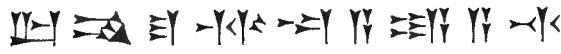
alu dan - nu - ti su is  kun    56. u - paḫ -ḫi - ra
*his fortified city he made, and*  *he  gathered*

el -lat ṣu    57. a - na mit-ḫu ẓi ummani ya [abli]
*his  forces*  *to  fight  my  army,  [the sons]*

Assur    58. sa ki rib Mi - im - pi it - ka - a
*of Assyria;*  *who  within  Memphis  gathered  in  the*

qa - bal [su]        * * * *  va  e - și  ir  va  iz - ba - ta
*midst of [it].*        * * * *  *and*    *besieged*   *and*   *took*

mu - uz - za su - [un]        * * * * * * *        [il] -
*the*   *whole*   *of*   *them.*        * * * * * * *            *
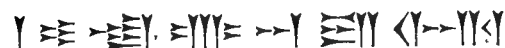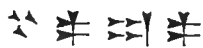
lik - av - va   ig - ba   a   ya - a - ti
*came*      *and*      *told*      *me.*


VARIANT PASSAGE, CYLINDER B, VARIANT FOR COLUMN I,
LINES 65 TO 77, CYLINDER A.


*a.*   lib - bi   i - gug   va iz - za - ru - uḥ   ka - bat - ti
*My*      *heart*   *was*   *bitter,*   *and*   *much*   *afflicted.*

*b.*   ad   ke   e   e - mu - ki   ya   zirati        *c.*   sa
*I*   *gathered*   *my*   *powerful*   *forces,*        *which*

Assur   va   Istar   u - mal - lu   qa - tu - u   a        *d.*   a - na
*Assur*   *and*   *Ishtar*   *had*   *placed*   *in*   *my*   *hands.*        *For*

na - ra   ru - ti   ḥa - maḍ, &c.
*the*      *restoration*      *of,*      *&c.*


ADDITIONAL PASSAGE, CYLINDER C, FOR COLUMN I,
LINES 70, 71, CYLINDER A.


*a.*   Ina   mi   ti - iq   gar   ri   ya
*In*   *the*   *course*   *of* `*my*   *expedition*

b. Ba - ha - al  şar  Zur - ri
   *Bahal*  *king of*  *Tyre,*

c. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  Ya - u - di
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Judah,*

d. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  U - du - mi
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Edom,*

e. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  Ma - ha - ab
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Moab,*

f. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  Ḥa - zi - ti
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Gaza,*

g. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  Iz - qa  lu - na
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Askelon,*

h. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  Av  gar  ru - na
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Ekron,*

i. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  Gu - ub  li
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Gebal,*

j. \* \* \* \* \* \*  şar  A - ru - a - di
   \* \* \* \* \* \*  *king of*  *Arvad,*

Six lines (k, l, m, n, o, p) lost.

q. I tu  u - an - da - ar  şar  Pa - ap - pa
   *Ithu-ander*  *king of*  *Paphos,*

*r.*    E - re - e   şu        şar       Şi - il - lu - u
         *Eresu*          *king of*       *Soli,*

*s.*    Da - ma - şu       şar       Ku - ri   i
         *Damastes*       *king of*       *Curium,*

*t.*    Rum - mi - şu       şar       Ta - mi - zi
         *Rummisu*       *king of*       *Tamissus,*

*u.*    Da - mu - u   şi    şar     Am - ti - ḫa - da - az - ti
         *Damusi*       *king of*       *Ammochosta,*

*v.*    U - na - şa - gu - şu       şar       Li   di   ni
         *Unasagus*       *king of*       *Lidini,*

*w.*    Pu   zu - zu       şar       Up - ri - dis - sa
         *Puzuzu*       *king of*       *Aphrodisia,*

*x.*    puḫur     22       Şarri     sa   &c.
         *making*    22       *kings of,*    *&c.*

Cylinders B and C omit the last fourteen Egyptian kings,
Column i, lines 98 to 111, Cylinder A.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN II, LINES 1 TO 12, VARIANT PASSAGE FOR
COLUMN II, LINES 25 TO 50, CYLINDER A.

1.   Sa - ai    Bi - in   di   di   Za   ha - nu
     *Sais,*      *Mendes,*     *and*     *Zoan,*

2. [𒑊] 𒌫𒅆𒌋𒐖𒀸 𒊩

[sa] ip pal - ki -tu

*which* *revolted*

3. ※※※※※ 𒐖 𒌋𒐖𒐖𒈾

\* \* \* \* \* va is -ku-nu

\* \* \* \* \* *and* *set*

𒀸𒈨𒐕𒐖𒐖

pi - i su- un

*their* *faces*

4. [𒍝𒀭𒊩𒐕] 𒈾 𒌋𒈨𒀸𒊩

[it ti su]-nu ak - su - ud

[*with*] *them,* *I* *took;*

5. [𒊓

[zaḫiri

[*small*

𒐖 𒌋𒈨 𒐖𒐖𒈨𒐖 𒐖𒐖 𒈨𒋾𒈾 𒆗𒀸

va rabati u] - sam -kit ina kakki

*and great I caused*] *to be destroyed with the sword,*

6. [𒊬𒈨𒀸 𒐕 𒈾

[pagari su-nu

[*their córpses*

𒈨𒐖𒐖𒈠 𒐖𒌋 𒐖𒌋 𒐖𒐖𒈨

ina ga] si si a - lul

*in*] *the dust I threw down*

7. ※※※※※ [𒊬𒍝]

\* \* \* \* \* [dur]

\* \* \* \* \* \*[*the towers*]

𒀜𒐖 𒐖𒐖𒈨 𒌋𒌋 𒈨𒐖𒐖

ali u -ḫal- lib

*of the cities I destroyed.*
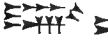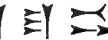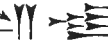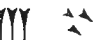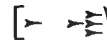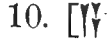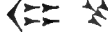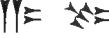
8. [𒊬𒈨𒈾 𒐖𒌋 𒐖 𒐖𒐕𒐖 𒑊] 𒌋

[sarri an - nu - ti sa] ina

[*Those* *kings* *whom*] *in*

𒐖𒐖 𒐖𒑊

Mu ẓur

*Egypt*

9. [𒊭 𒐖𒐖𒈾 𒐖𒈾] 𒊬𒈠 𒐖 𒈾𒐖

[as - ku - nu a - na] sar -u - ti

[*I had appointed to*] *the kingdoms,*

10. [𒑊

[sa

[*who*

𒐖𒌫𒅆 𒈨𒐕 𒐖𒈨𒐖𒍝𒈨 𒐖𒐖𒐕 𒐖𒈾𒐖𒐕𒐖 𒈨𒐖𒐖 𒐖𒐖𒐖 𒐖𒈾

limut ti is -te - ni hu - u a- na] abli Assur

*devised* *evil* *against*] *the* *sons* *of* *Assyria,*

11. [𒊬𒍝𒈾 𒐖 𒐖𒐕 𒐖𒐖𒐖] 𒐖𒐖𒑊 𒐖𒐖𒐖𒈨 𒐖𒈨

[az -bat va ub - la] a - na Assur

[*I* *took* *and* *brought*] *to* *Assyria.*

12. 𒑊𒐖 𒐖𒐖𒐖

Tar- qu -u

*Tirhakah*

𒐖𒐖 [𒐖𒑊 𒐖𒈨𒐖 𒐖 𒐖𒐖] 𒊬𒈨𒐖𒈾 𒈨𒐖 𒈨𒐖

a [na Ku -u - ṣi] in -nab- tu.

*to* [*Ethiopia*] *fled.*

FRAGMENT OF COLUMN I, CYLINDER E.
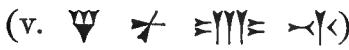
1. * * * * * ru -u- qn 2. * * * * * a- lak ku

  * * * * * * *remote*   * * * * **I had gone.***

3. [Assur] aḥ iddina ṣar Assur abu ba -nu-u a

  *Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the father my begetter,*

4. [ir] -du va il li -ku ki -rib sa 5. abikta

  *had descended and gone into the midst of it; the over-*

Tar qu u ṣar Ku u ṣi is - ku nu va

*throw of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia he had accomplished, and*

6. u -par- ri ru el lat ṣu 7. Mu - ẕur

  *scattered his forces.  Egypt and*

Ku u ṣu ik su du va 8. [ina la] me - ni

*Ethiopia he had taken, and its innumerable*

is lu la sal- la - aṣ ṣu 9. [matu su] - a tu ina

*spoils he had carried off; that country, the*

(v. a - na) ṣi - hir - ti sa i -bi- luv -va 10. [a- na]

*whole of it, he took possession of, and to*

me ṣir Assur u tir 11. sumi

*the borders of Assyria he added. The former*

    alani       mah   ru   u   ti    u - nak - kir  va
*names*    *of*    *the*    *cities*   *he*    *abolished,*   *and*

12. [a - na] es - su - u - te is - ku - na ni - bi - iṣ ṣu - un
    *anew*    *he*   *appointed*    *their*   *names ;*

13. ardi su a - na ṣaru ti san u ti
  *his*    *servants*  *to*   *the*   *kingdoms*  *and*  *governments*

(v. sa nu u ti)      14. [eli su] - nu u te
                                [*over*]    *them*

u - pa - ki da ina lib - bi   15. bilat man - da - at tu
*he appointed in the midst ;*   *taxes and tribute*
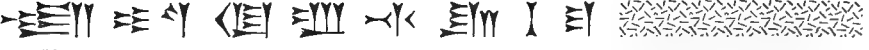
bi lu ti su   16. [san - ti u sam - ma] u - kin
*to his dominion,*   *a yearly sum he fixed*

ẓi ru us - su - un   17. * * * * as - li qaq - qu - ru
*upon them ;*   * * * * * * *ground*

18. * * * * * Me em pi
     * * * * * *Memphis.*

EXTRACT FROM K, 3083, WHICH CONNECTS LINE 15 OF THIS
FRAGMENT WITH K, 2675, AND K, 228.

*a.* bilat man - da at - tu bi lu ti * * * *
*Taxes and tribute to* [*his*] *dominions* * * * *

b.    𒐐 𒌋 𒂊𒆜 𒌍𒆠 𒐐𒌍 𒀀 𒆠

     55     zalam    ṣaru    ti   su- nu     * * * * * *

     55     *of*    *their*    *royal*   *statues*    * * * * * *

c.   li   i -tu   ki - sit - ti   qati su va     * * * * *

   *the glory acquired by his hands and*    * * * *

d.   ina ma- ḥa-za - a   ni   e - ziri   sa ki - rib    * * * *

   *in the cities and temples, which are in the midst*   * * * *

e.   ul - tu   abu ba -nu- u   a   im [nu- u]    * * * *

   *from the father my begetter revolted*    * * * *

f.   Tar - qu - u   ba - lu   Ili   a [na]    * * * *

   *Tirhakah against the Gods to*    * * * *

## K, 2675, AND K, 228. OBVERSE LINES 2 TO 69.

2.   Tar   qu - u   ba   lu   Ili   a - na   e - kim

   *Tirhakah against the Gods, to capture*

Mu - ẓur   us -tam-za- a   a - na   da -[a- ki]     3.    * * *

*Egypt made a gathering to fight.*    *The evil*

ma - ru - us - tu   sa   abu ba -nu- u a   e - pu- su- us    ul

* * * *which the father my begetter had done him, he*

ip - pal   kit ina lib - bi su     4.   da   na   an   Assur   bel

*forgot not in his heart;*    *the power of Assur my lord he*

𒀀𒅀 𒂊 - mi - is va it - ta - gil a - na e - muq
*despised,* *and* *trusted* *to* *his* *own*

ra - ma - ni su il - li - kan va ki - rib Mi - im - pi
*might.* *He* *came* *and* *into* *Memphis*

e - ru - uv - va alu su - a - tu u - tir ra - ma - nu su
*he* *entered,* *and* *that* *city* *he* *restored* *to* *himself.*

6. e li nisi Assur sa ki - rib Mu - ẓur
*Against* *the* *men* *of* *Assyria,* *who* *within* *Egypt*

ardani da - gil pa - ni ya 7. sa Assur - aḫ - iddina
*were tributaries dependent on me,* *whom* *Esarhaddon*

ṣar Assur abu ba - nu - u a a - na ṣar - u - ti
*king of Assyria, the father my begetter, to the kingdoms had*

ip ki - du ina lib bi 8. a - na da - a - ki ḫa - ba - ʾa - te
*appointed in the midst [of it],* *to* *slay,* *plunder,* *and*

sa - la - a - li u - ma - he e - ra um - man su
*spoil* *he* *sent* *forth* *his* *army.*

9. al - la - ku ḫa - an - ḍu ina ki - rib Ninua il - li kan
*I was walking round in the midst of Nineveh and one came*

va u - sa - an na - a ya - a - pi (v. si) 10. e - li
*and* *repeated* *[this]* *to* *me,* *over*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

ip -se - e - ti    an  na -a - ti  lib bi i  gu - ug  va iz-za

*these     things    my     heart    was     bitter    and    much*

- ri   iḫ  ka - bat- ti        11.   al si -ma  tur - tan

*      afflicted.        I   collected  the   tartan*

sanuti     a   di  ẓabi  qati su -nu e -mu- ki  ya

*prefects   and   the  troops  in  their  hands,  my  powerful*

ẓirati        12.   a - na  na  ra  ru  ti  ḫa -maḍ sa

*forces,        for    the    restoration   of   the*

ṣarri       sanuti      ardana   da -gil pa -ni  ya

*kings  and   prefects   tributaries  dependent  on   me;*

13.  .ur  ru -ut  ḍe  e  mu  as  kun  su - nu - ti

*an   urgent   command   I   gave   them,  the*

mur  ra  an  Mu - ẓur  u - sa -as- ki - na  sepi su -un

*road   to   Egypt  I   caused  their  feet  to  take;*

14.  u  ris  ḫa -an -dis ir du - u  il  li - ku

*earnestly  and  joyfully  they  marched  down  and  went*

a - di  Kar  ba  ni  ti        15.  Tar - qu  u  ṣar

*to       Karbanit.          Tirhakah  king  of*

Ku - u- ṣi  sa a- lak umman ya  ki - rib  Mi - im  pi

*Ethiopia who, of the progress of my army in the midst of Memphis*
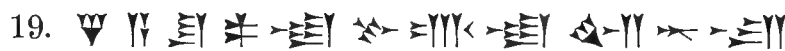
𒍝𒅓 𒌦 𒍝𒅓 (v. 𒅗𒅓)  16. 𒅓 𒌋𒅓 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒅗 𒀭𒌍 𒍝𒅓 𒍑 𒍣𒍝𒍝
is -me- e (v. va)      a- na  e  pis  qabal  kakku  taḫaz
*heard    and     to    make war fighting, and  battle  he*
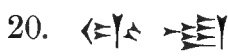
𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒅓 𒅀 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒅗𒅓 𒅓 𒍝 𒍗𒅓 𒍝𒅓 𒍗𒅓 𒍝𒅗 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒅗 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒅗 𒍝𒅓
umman su  id  ka - a iṣ- ḍi  ra  me - eḫ - rit umman  ya
*gathered his army and set them in array in front of my army.*

17. 𒍝 𒍝𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝
ina  tu - gul - ti  Assur  Sin    Ili    rabati    beli
*In  the  service  of Assur,  Sin  and  the  great  Gods  my lords,*

𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒅗  18. 𒍝 𒍝𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝
ya  a- lik  i- di  ya      ina  taḫaz  ẓeri  abikta  su
*who   march  before  me;   in the battle field his overthrow they*

𒍝𒅓 𒅓 𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝
is - ku - ṇu  zabi  tug- la - ti su  u - ra - aṣ - ṣi - bu  ina
*accomplished, his  fighting  men  they  destroyed  with  the* ·
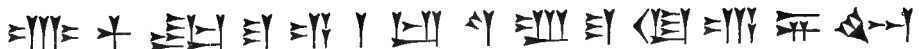
𒍝𒅓 𒅓  19. 𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒅓 𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝𒍝
kakki        sa - a - su  ḫat- tu  pa- luḫ  tu  im -kut  ṣu
*sword.     Himself,   terrible    fear    struck    him,*
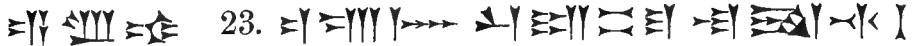
𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒍝𒅓 𒅓 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒅀  20. 𒍝 𒍝𒅓
va    il    li    ku  maḫ  ḫu  ur        ul  tu
*and      he      went    back.        From*
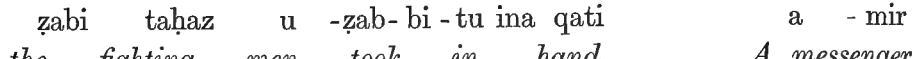
𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝 𒍝𒅀 𒍝𒅓 𒍝 𒍝 𒍝
Mi   im  pi  alu  ṣaru  ti  su a- sar  tu  gul- ti su
*Memphis  his  capital  city  and  his  fortified  place,*

𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒅓 𒅓  21. 𒍝𒍝 𒌋𒅓 𒅓 𒍝𒅓 𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒅓
uẓ  ẓi  va      a- na  su  zu  b  na- pis  ti  su
*he  went  out,    and  to  save  his  life  in  a*
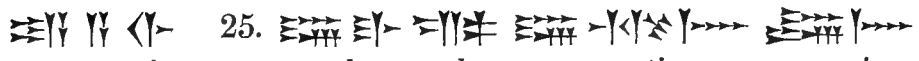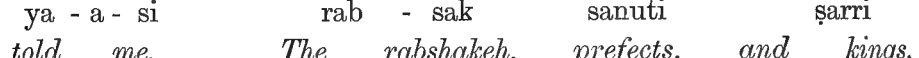
𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒅓 𒍝𒍝 𒍝 𒍝𒍝 𒅓  22. 𒍝𒅓 𒍝𒍝𒌋 𒍝𒅓
ki - rib  elap  ir  kip  va        karaṣ      ṣu
*ship      he      sailed;        his    camp    he*
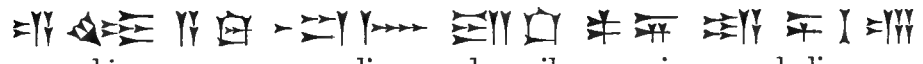
u -vas- sar va e -dis ip -par- sid va ki rib Ni - ha
*abandoned* *and* *fled* *alone,* *and* *into* *Thebes*
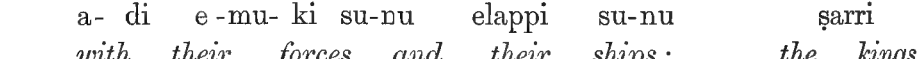
e - ru ub 23. elappi qa - ra - bi ma- la it - ti su
*he* *entered.* *All* *the* *ships* *of* *war* *with* *him,*
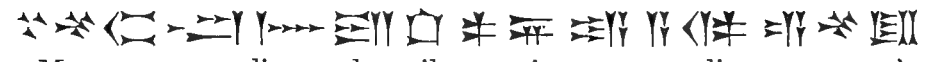
zabi taḥaz u -zab- bi -tu ina qati 24. a - mir
*the* *fighting* *men* *took* *in* *hand.* *A* *messenger*

bu- uṣ ṣu - rat ḥa- de - e da - a ut - ra ig - ba - a
*of* *good* *tidings* *hastily(?)* *returned,* *and*

ya - a- si 25. rab - sak sanuti ṣarri
*told* *me.* *The* *rabshakeh,* *prefects,* *and* *kings,*

e bir nar ardi da -gil pa- ni ya kali su- un
*across* *the* *river, tributaries dependent on* *me* *all of* • *them*

26. a- di e -mu- ki su-nu elappi su-nu 27. ṣarri
*with* *their* *forces* *and* *their* *ships;* *the* *kings*

Mu - ẓur ardi da -gil pa- ni ya a- di e -mu- qi
*of Egypt, tributaries dependent on me, with their forces*
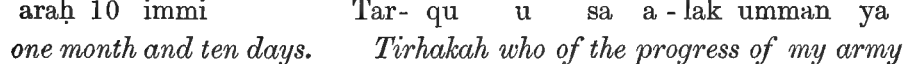
su-nu elappi su-nu 28. a - na ḫul lu uq
*and* *their* *ships;* *to* *drive*

Tar - qu - u ul tu ki - rib Mu - ẓur va Ku -u- ṣi
*Tirhakah* *out* *of* *Egypt* *and* *Ethiopia,*

29. 〔cuneiform〕
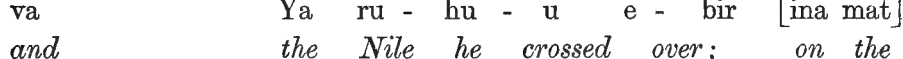
 eli e -mu- ki ya zir - ra a - ti u - rad di
 *to* *my* *powerful* *forces* *I* *added*

〔cuneiform〕 30. 〔cuneiform〕
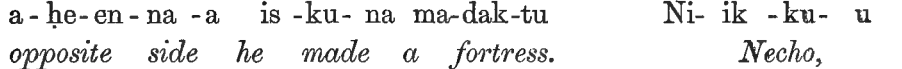
va as - pur  a - na  Ni ha alu dan - nu ti
*and* *sent.*  *To*  *Thebes* *the* *fortified city*

〔cuneiform〕
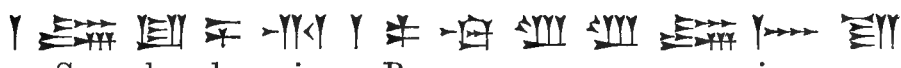
Tar- qu u sar Ku -u- si il - li -ku ma- lak
*of Tirhakah* *king of* *Ethiopia* *they went,* *a journey of*

〔cuneiform〕 31. 〔cuneiform〕
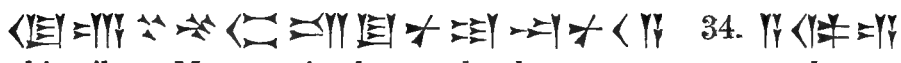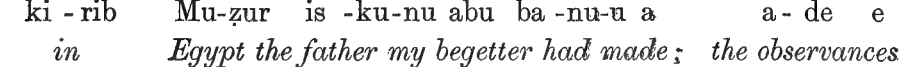
arah 10 immi  Tar- qu u sa a -lak umman ya
*one month and ten days.* *Tirhakah who of the progress of my army*

〔cuneiform〕
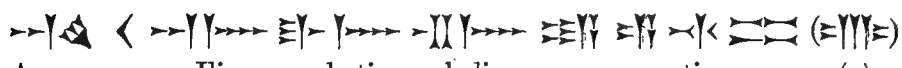
is -me- e  Ni- ha alu dan -nu- ti su u -vas- sar
*heard;*  *Thebes* *his* *fortified* *city* *abandoned*

〔cuneiform〕 32. 〔cuneiform〕 [〔cuneiform〕]

va  Ya ru- hu- u e - bir [ina mat]
*and*  *the* *Nile* *he* *crossed* *over;* *on the*

〔cuneiform〕 33. 〔cuneiform〕
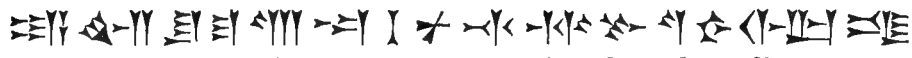
a -he-en- na -a is -ku- na ma-dak-tu  Ni- ik -ku- u
*opposite* *side* *he* *made* *a* *fortress.*  *Necho,*

〔cuneiform〕
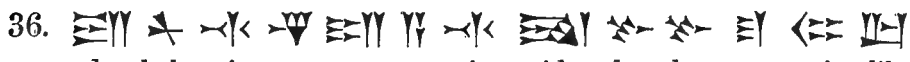
Sar - lu -da - ri Pa- aq -ru ru sarri sa
*Sarludari,* *and* *Paqruru,* *kings whom*

〔cuneiform〕 34. 〔cuneiform〕

ki - rib Mu-zur is -ku-nu abu ba -nu-u a a - de e
*in* *Egypt the father my begetter had made;* *the observances*

〔cuneiform〕
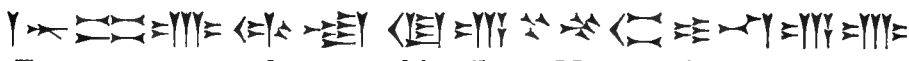
Assur va Ili rabati beli ya e - ti - qu (u)
*of* *Assur* *and* *the* *great* *Gods* *my* *lords,* *forsook,*

𒀭 𒁹 𒈝 𒍠 𒀭 𒄿 𒀹𒁹      35. 𒅁 𒄿 𒀭 𒁹𒐊 𒅗
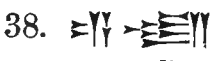
va  ip  ru  ẓu  ma-mit sun        ḍab - ti  abi  ba - ni

*and   broke   their   pledges;*        *the benefits of the father my*

𒀭𒅀 𒄩𒌋 𒀭 𒀭 𒄴 𒁹 𒐊 𒀀 𒀀𒅗 𒀀𒅗𒌋 𒊭 𒌋 𒐊 𒂵𒁹𒈝 𒀭𒉣
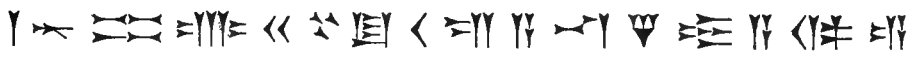
ya  im -su  va  lib  ba  su-nu - ti  ik - bu-ud     limut - tu

*begetter   they   despised,   and   their   hearts   devised   evil;*

36. 𒀭𒅀 𒊭 𒀀𒅗 𒀭𒁇 𒀭𒅀 𒐊 𒀀𒅗 𒂊𒁹 𒊭 𒊭 𒀭 𒀹 𒈝
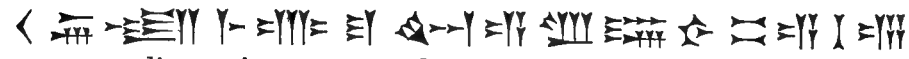
da -bab - ti   sur - ra - a - ti   id - bu  bu  va  mi - lik

*seditious   words   they   spoke,   and   evil*

𒁇𒅀 𒈪 𒂼𒀹 𒀹𒄿 𒁹𒂼𒅀 𒈪 𒀭𒅀 𒌋 𒐊 𒀭𒐊      37. 𒀭𒐊𒅀 𒀭
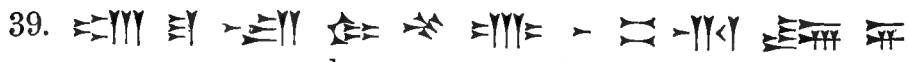
la  ku   sir   im - li -ku  ra -man su- un      um - ma

*council   they   counselled   among   themselves;*      *thus:*

𒐊 𒀹 𒀸𒁹 𒀭𒐊𒈹 𒀸𒀹 𒁹𒅀 𒀸𒈹 𒀭𒐊𒐊 𒊭 𒅗 𒀸𒁹 𒂼 𒀹𒐊 𒀭𒐊𒐊 𒀭𒐊𒐊𒈹

Tar - qu - u    ul - tu     ki - rib    Mu-ẓur  i - na - kit - u

*" Tirhakah   from   the   midst   of   Egypt   is   cut   off,*

𒀭 𒁹𒐊 𒁇𒁹𒐊 𒈹 𒐊 𒀭 𒁇𒐊 𒈹 𒀸𒁹 𒂼𒀹 𒐊      38. 𒀭𒐊 𒁇𒂼𒐊

va  at - tu   ni  a-sa - ba  ni  mi - i -nu      e - li

*and   to   us   our   seats   are   numbered."*      *Unto*

𒐊 𒀹 𒀸𒁹 𒀭𒐊𒈹 𒀸𒀹 𒊭 𒂼𒐊 𒀸 𒀭𒐊 𒁹 𒀹𒐊 𒌋 𒂼𒐊 𒁹 𒀸𒄴 𒀭𒐊

Tar - qu - u  ṣar  Ku - u - ṣi  a - na  sa - kan  a - de - e

*Tirhakah   king of   Ethiopia   to   make   agreement*

𒀸 𒁇𒂼𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒀹𒀭𒐊𒈹 𒀭 𒄩𒀹𒐊𒀭𒐊 𒀭 𒁇𒐊𒐊 𒍠 𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒐊 𒀭𒐊

va  ṣa - li - mi  u  -ma - he  e - ru     rak-be - e su- un

*and   alliance,   they   directed   their   messengers*

39. 𒀭𒐊𒅀 𒀭 𒁇𒂼𒐊 𒍠 𒊭 𒀭𒐊𒐊 𒀹 𒀸 𒁹𒐊𒀹 𒂼𒈹 𒈹

um - ma   ṣu - lum - mu -  u  ina bi - ri - in - ni

*thus:   "May   an   alliance   by   this   treaty   be*

𒐊 𒀭 𒂼𒐊𒐊 (v. 𒀭𒄩) 𒀭 𒈹 𒂼𒀹𒀰 𒁇𒀹 𒀭𒐊𒐊𒅗 𒀭𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒀹 𒐊𒀹

lis-sa  kin   (v. kin)   va  ni - in -dag- ga - ra  a - ḫa - mis

*established,   and   we   will   help   each   other;*

40. [cuneiform]
mat a-ḫe-en na-a ni zu-uz va ai ib-ba-si
*the country on the other side we will strengthen, and let there not be*

[cuneiform] 41. [cuneiform]
ina bi-ri-in ni sa-nu-uv-va be-luv a-na
*in this treaty any other lord." Against*

[cuneiform]
umman Assur gab-sa-a-ti ya is-te-ni-hu-u
*the army of Assyria, my strength, they devised a*

[cuneiform] 42. [cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform])
a-mat limut-ti a-na su-zu-ub (v. na-bi)
*wicked plot. To save*

[cuneiform]
na pis-ti su-un ik-ri-mu ḫul-lu-qu a-di
*their lives being captured; they separated, until*

[cuneiform] 43. [cuneiform]
la ba-se-e . su-ut-saki ya a-ma-a-ti
*there were none [together]. My generals of this plot*

[cuneiform]
an-na-a ti is-mu-u va ik-ki-lu nik-lat ṣun
*heard, and concealed their plans;*

44. [cuneiform]
rak-be-e su-un a-di sip-ra-a ti su-nu
*their messengers and their instructions*

[cuneiform]
iẓ-ba tu-niv-va e-mu-ru ip-sit sur-ra-a-ti
*they captured, and saw their seditious*

[cuneiform] 45. [cuneiform]
su-un Ṣar lu-da-ri Ni-ik-ku-u
*work. Sarludari and Necho*

iẓ -bat-u- niv -va ina bi - ri     ti parzil(?) is -qa- ti parzil(?)
*they took, and in bonds of iron and fetters of iron*

u -tam- mi - ḫu qati va niri      46. ma mit Assur ṣar
*they bound their hands and feet.*     *The oath of Assur king*

Ili    ik -su- uṣ -ṣu -nu- ti va sa    iḫ -ḍu- u
*of the Gods took them, who sinned*

ina a - de - e    rabati      47. ḍa -ab ti qa -tus-su- un
*against the great ones (i.e. Gods), who had sought the good*

u - ba- hi - i va sa    e -pu-su- ṣu -nu- ti du un- qu
*of their hands and who had given them favours;*

48. va    nisi    alani    ma- la    it - ti su -nu
*and the people of all the cities with them*

\* \* \* \* \* ik -bu- du a-mat limut - ti      49. zaḫiri va
\* \* \* \* \* *devised an evil design.*     *Small and*

rabati ina kakki    u - sam - [ki - tu]    \* \* \* \* \* la
*great with the sword they destroyed* \* \* \* \* \* *did not*

e - zi - bu ina lib- bi      50. va    ṣa - a-su- un a - di
*leave in the midst;*     *and them to*

[Ninua] a- di maḫ - ri ya ub -lu- ni      51. va
*[Nineveh] to my presence they brought; and*

𒀀 - na - ku  Assur -bani-pal  * * * * *  mun - ṣa - aḫ
*I,*        *Assurbanipal*   * * * * *    *bestower*    *of*

dam - qa - a - ti        52.  a - na   Ni- ik - ku- u   arad
*favours:*                    *to*      *Necho*    *the*    *tributary*

da - [gil pa - ni   ya   sa abu banu-u  a  a-na  ṣar -u]-te
*dependent [on  me, whom  the  father my begetter to the kingdom]*

ip - ki -du ina        Kar - belu -matati        53.   re - e - mu
*had    appointed   in    Kar-belmatati.*           *Favour   I*

ar - si  su va  kit - ti   [am(?)]   di - iṣ - ṣu va
*granted   him,   and   a    covenant   I   appointed   him,*

54.  a - de - e  ni  is   Ili   eli  sa  maḫ - [ri
     *the    observances   of  the  Gods  stronger  than  before [I*

u - sa - tir   va   it - ti  su]  as - pur       55.   lib  bu
*caused  to  be  restored, and  with him]  I sent.*      *His heart*

u - sar  ḫi  iṣ   ṣu   va   lu - [bul - ti     bir   mi
*I  caused   to   rejoice,  and    [costly]    garments*
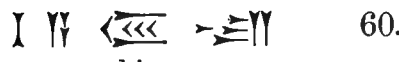
u - lab] -bi- ṣu va    55.  al - lu   ḫuraẓ  ṣi -mat ṣaru - ti
*I placed upon him, and*     *ornaments of gold, his royal image*

su as - kun  su   57.  semiri  ḫuraẓ  u -[rak- ki - ṣa]
*I made for him;*      *rings  of  gold  I  fastened  on*
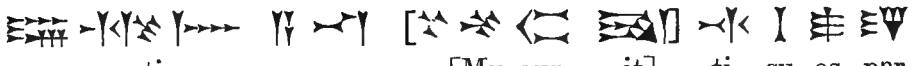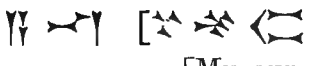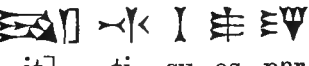
𒁹 𒁹 𒁹    58.   𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
sangu- ti  su           gir sib - bi  sa   aḫ - zu  su  ḫuraẓ
*his feet,*              *a scimitar, the sheath of which was gold,*
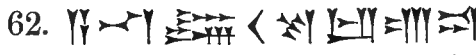
𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 ░░░ 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹    59.  𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
ni  bit sum ya  * * * * *  a -din su          ruqubi
*the glory of my name  *  *  *  *  *  I gave him.*     *Chariots,*
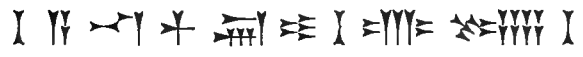
𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹      𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹      𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 [𒁹] 𒁹
    susi                pari              a - na   [ẓaru] - ti
   *horses,*     *and*   *mules*         *for his   kingdom*
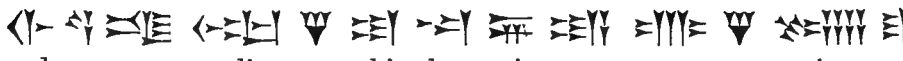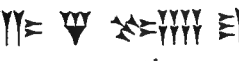
𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹    60.  𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹     𒁹
su  a - kiẓ - ẓu          su - ut - saki          ya
*I  appointed ;*         *my    generals*         *as*
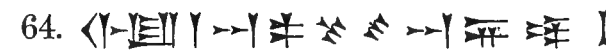
𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 [𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹] 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
sanuti        a   na    [Mu-ẓur   it] - ti  su  as-pnr
*governors*       *to*  [*Egypt*]  *with  him  I  sent.*

61.  𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
     a - sar   abu  ban-u  a  ina    Sa - ai  sa
     *The place where the father my begetter, in Sais the name*

[𒁹 𒁹 𒁹] 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹    62.  𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
[Kar -belu] matati sum su      a- na   ẓar -u- te  ip -kid- du
*of which is Kar-belmatati ;*   *to  the  kingdom  had  appointed*

𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹    63.  𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
su  a - na  mas-gan- i  su  u - tir  su         ḍa - ab - tu
*him,  to  his  district  I  restored  him.*     *Benefits and*

𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
damqatu      eli  sa  abi  ba - ni  ya   u - sa - tir  va
*favours, beyond those of the father my begetter, I caused to restore, and*

𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹    64.  𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹
e - pu - uẓ  ẓu          va    Nabu -se-zib- an - ni  ablu su
*gave   to   him :*      *and   Neboshazban    his   son*

                        65.

ina    [Ḫa]- at -ḫa- ri - ba          sa        Li  mir -
*in*         *Athribes*             *which*       *Limir-*

pa - te - ṣi - assur sum su a   na   ṣar - u - te as- kun
*patesi-Assur  is  its  name;  to  the  kingdom  I  appointed.*

66.

    Tar - qu - u ṣar  Ku-u- ṣi ḫat- tu pu- luḫ - ti
    *Tirhakah    king of  Ethiopia,    terrible    fear*

bil - ti  ya  iṣ ḫu up su va  il  lik simti mu- si su
*of my power overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night.*

67.
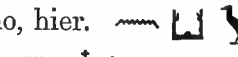
    Ur - da -ma- ne- e ablu bilati su ina  kuzzu  su  u - sib
    *Rudammon    son of  his  consort,  sat  on  his  throne*
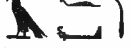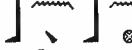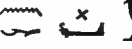
va  u -ma- hi - ir ma-a- tu         68.  Ni - ha  a - na
*and  governed  the  country.*         *Thebes    he*
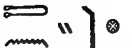
dan - nu - ti su is - kun  u -pa- ḫir  el -lat su
*fortified  for  himself,  and  gathered  his  forces*

69.  a - na  e - pis qabal va  tahaz  eli  umman  ya
    *to  make  war  and  battle,  against  my  army*

    kakki  su  u -sat- ba - a iẓ- ba - ta  mur- ra  na
*his  soldiers  he  brought  forward,  and  took  the  road.*

The first expedition of Assurbanipal was directed against
Muẓur, Heb. מִצְרַיִם (Egypt), and Kūṣu, Heb. כּוּשׁ Ethiopia.   No name
resembling Muẓur can be found in the hieroglyphics; but Kūṣu is
the same as the Egyptian ▨▨ ▨▨ Kuṣi.   Kūṣu, or Kush, appears
in the Assyrian inscriptions to include part of Upper Egypt as
well as Ethiopia; for although Esarhaddon's conquests did not
extend higher than Thebes, he is said to have conquered both Muẓur
and Kush.    Cylinder A gives at the commencement Magan or
Makan instead of Muẓur, and Miluḫḫa instead of Kush.    The name
Magan for some land in this region is very ancient, but only known
in the cuneiform inscriptions.    Miluḫḫa has been thought to be the
same as Meroe, the ancient capital of Ethiopia.    During the first
part of the reign of Esarhaddon Egypt and Ethiopia were under the
rule of Tirhakah the ▨▨▨▨ ▨▨▨ Tahārqā
of the hieroglyphics, who was driven out of Egypt by Esarhaddon.
The re-conquest of Egypt by Tirhakah, at the close of the reign of
Esarhaddon, was the cause of the first expedition of Assurbanipal.
Here the Assyrian inscriptions differ, some (as Cylinder A) giving
the command of this expedition to Assurbanipal himself; others
(K, 2675) recording that he sent a general in command of the
army.    The list of kings of Syria and Cyprus who submitted on the
road is, so far as it is preserved, the same as that of Esarhaddon
(" North British Review," No. 104, p. 328).    The first city in Egypt
mentioned in relation to this expedition is Karbanit.    This is
evidently an Assyrian name; and, as the city lay near the frontier,
is possibly the name given by Esarhaddon to Pelusium.    Here the
battle took place, which once more gave the country to the Assyrians.
On conquering Egypt, Assurbanipal restored the twenty kings who
had been set up by Esarhaddon and dethroned by Tirhakah; the
leader of these was Necho, hier. ▨▨▨ Nekau, who was king of
Mimpi, or Memphis, hier. ▨▨▨ Mennefer, then the capital
city, and Sai or Sais, hier. ▨▨▨ Sai.   The second king,
Sarludari, was evidently an Assyrian, the name is a common one at
this period, and is written in various ways; the full form is found
on K, 31, ▨▨▨▨▨▨, Ṣaru-lu-u-da-a-ru,

meaning "long live the king." Sarludari was king of Zihinu, which probably represents Pelusium, the Hebrew סִין, the modern Tineh. The third king was Pisan-huru, hier. Pishen-hor, he was ruler of Nathu, the island of Natho, hier. Natru? The fourth king, Paqruru, hier. Paqrar, had his seat at Pisabtu, hier. Pi-supt. The fifth name, Pukkunannihapi, is evidently Egyptian, but has not yet been identified; he was king of Hathiribi, or Athribis, hier. Hattahirab. The sixth king has likewise an unidentified Egyptian name, he ruled at Henins, Heb. חָנֵס. The seventh king is Pudu-bisti, or Petubastes, hier. Petsibast; he ruled at Zahan, or Tanis, Hebrew צֹעַן, modern San. The eighth king, Unamuna, ruled at Nathu, either another place called Natho or hier. Ntahru (Dendera). The ninth name is Har-si-yesu, hieroglyphic Hor-si-esi; he was king of Zabnuti or Sebennytus. The tenth name is Buaiva, hier. Buaiuva; he ruled at Bindidi, or Mendes, hier. Bentat. The eleventh king, Susinq, or Shishak, hier. Sheshanq; ruled at Busiru (Busiris), hier. Pi-osiri-nebt. The twelfth king, Tap-naht, or Tnephachthus, hier. Taf-necht; ruled at Bunubu, probably hier. Bunbun. The thirteenth name, Pukkunannihapi, is the same as the fifth; his seat was at Ahni, possibly Heracleopolis. The next king Ipti-har-desu, ruled at Pizatti-hurunpiku. The fifteenth monarch has the name Nahti-huru-ansini; the first two elements in this name are equivalent to hier. Necht-har; he was king of Pisabdinut. Bukur-ninip, the sixteenth king, was an Assyrian; he ruled at Pahnuti. The position of the four last cities is doubtful, they were probably in Middle Egypt. Ziha, the seventeenth monarch, ruled at Siyaut, or Siyout, hier. Saut. The next king, Lamintu, had his seat at Himuni or Chemmis, heir. Hem-men. The nineteenth king was Ispi-madu of Taini, Thin,

H

or Abydos, hier. ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ Teni. The name of the last king, Manti-mi-anhe, contains the Egyptian elements Muntu-mi-anche, but has not yet been found as a proper name; he was king of Niha, Heb. ⟨hebrew⟩, Thebes; this name has not been found in hieroglyphics, the usual Egyptian names of Thebes being ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ Apt, and ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ Uab; but the Hebrew and Assyrian name for this city, resembles ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ Nahai, one of the names of Egypt. The narrative describes the intrigues carried on by these restored monarchs, led by Necho, Sarludari, and Paqruru, after the return of Assurbanipal to Nineveh, and their attempt to revolt, in conjunction with Tirhakah; the destruction of some of the cities, the captivity of Necho and Sarludari, and Tirhakah's death. The Egyptian inscriptions, and especially the Apis Stele, give us the reign of Tirhakah as immediately preceding that of Psammitichus (the son of Necho king of Sais). One Apis Stele gives us the following: "Year 20, 12th month, day 20, of the reign of Psammitichus, an apis died, and was buried in year 21, 2nd month, day 25; he was born year 26 of Tirhakah, and was enthroned in Memphis, 8th month, day 9, making 21 years." According to this tablet, there were about twenty-seven years between the accession of Tirhakah and that of Psammitichus. The successor of Tirhakah, called by the Assyrians Urdamane, has been identified with the Egyptian royal name ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ Rut-ammon; but another identification has been brought forward since; Dr. Haigh has suggested that Urdamane is the ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ Nut-mi-ammon, or Ammon-mi-nut, whose history as given on the stele discovered by M. Mariette in 1863, has a remarkable likeness to the Assyrian account of Urdamane. According to this tablet Nut-mi-ammon, when he came to the throne, had a dream, in which he saw two serpents, one on his right hand, the other on his left; and this dream was explained to him to mean that, as he possessed the south (Ethiopia), he should take the north (Egypt). He then set out at the head of his army, and marched to Elephantina; from there he went to Thebes, and from Thebes he approached Memphis. Here the chiefs of Lower Egypt disputed his advance; but, after defeating them, he entered the city in

triumph.   While he stayed at Memphis, Paqrar, or Paqruru, the chief of Pi-supt, the leader of the rulers of Lower Egypt came and made submission to him.*    Paqruru of Pisupt is evidently the fourth king in the Assyrian list, and the capture of Memphis by Ammon-mi-nut parallels the taking of Memphis by Urdamane.   The cuneiform name of the Nile, Yaruhu, is the equivalent of the Hebrew יְאָרָה.   Exodus i, 22.

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* A translation of this Stele by M. Maspero is given in "Revue Archeologique," Mai, 1868.

# PART III.

*The Second Egyptian War.*

TEXTS.

There are only two texts of this part of the history; one is the text common to Cylinders A, B, and C, found on Cylinder A, col. ii, lines 61 to 83; the other is K, 2675, obverse line 70 to reverse line 5.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINES 61 TO 83.

61. 𒀸𒊏𒉡𒋼𒃼𒊑𒅀𒀀𒈾𒈬𒊬𒆳

Ina sanute gar - ri    ya    a - na         Mu - zur va
*In     my     second    expedition,    to        Egypt     and*

Ku - u    ṣi            us - te - es - se - ra    mur - ra - nu
*Ethiopia*              *I       directed       the     march.*

Ur - da -ma- ne - e            a - lak gar - ri    ya    is -me- e
*Rudammon      of*            *the progress of my expedition heard,*

va    sa    ak - bu - ṣu            me - ṣir         Mu - zur
*and that I had crossed over*      *the borders of Egypt.*

Mi- im - pi    u -vas- sir va        a - na    su    zu    ub
*Memphis    he abandoned, and*      *to       save    his*

napisti  su  in - na - bit  a - na  ki - rib  Ni - ha
*life*  *he*  *fled*  *into*  *Thebes.*

66.  sarri  sanuti  ki - pa - a - ni  sa
*The*  *kings,*  *prefects,*  *and*  *governors,*  *whom*

ki - rib  Mu - zur  as - ku - nu  67.  ina sati  ya
*in*  *Egypt*  *I had*  *set*  *up,*  *to my presence*

il - lik - u - niv - va.  u - na - as - si - qu  sepi  ya
*came,*  *and*  *kissed*  *my*  *feet.*

68.  arku  Ur - da - ma - ne - e  mur - ra - nu  az - bat
*After*  *Rudammon*  *the*  *road*  *I*  *took;*

69.  al - lik  a - di  Ni  ha  alu  dan - nu - ti
*I*  *went*  *to*  *Thebes,*  *the*  *strong*  *city;*

70.  ti - ip  tahaz  ya dan - ni  e - mur va  Ni - ha
*the approach of my powerful army he saw, and Thebes*

u - vas - sir  71.  in  na - bit a - na  Ki - ip - ki - pi
*he abandoned,*  *and*  *fled*  *to*  *Kipkip.*
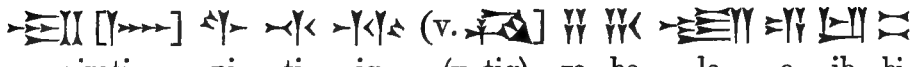
alu  su - a - tu  72.  a - na  si  hir - ti  su ina tugulti
*That  city (Thebes)*  *the  whole  of  it,  in  the  service  of*
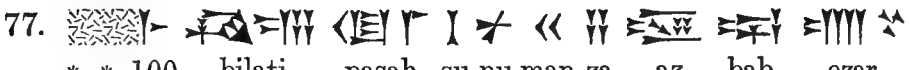
Assur va Istar  ik - su  da  qata  ai  73.  kasap  huraz
*Assur and Ishtar*  *my*  *hands*  *took;*  *silver,*  *gold,*
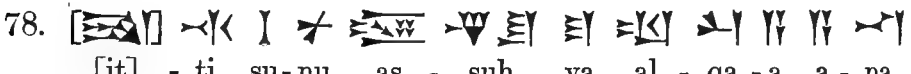
ni -sik- ti   abni   sa - su   e -kal su ma- la   ba -su- u
*precious stones, the furniture of his palace, all there was;*
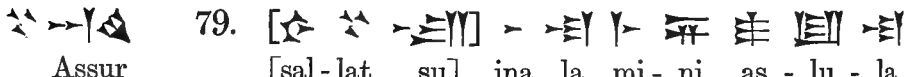
74.  lu -bul- tu   bir -mi   kitui   susi   rabati
*garments costly and beautiful(?), great horses,*

75.  nisi   zik - ra   va   sin-nis   76.  2   tim -mi
*people male and female, two lofty*
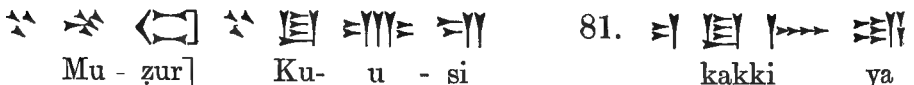
zirati   pi - ti - ig   (v. tig)   za - ha- le - e   ib -bi
*obelisks covered with beautiful carving,*
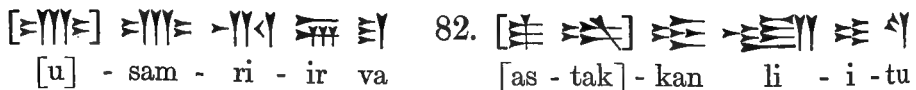
77.  * * 100   bilati   pasah su-nu man-za- az   bab   ezar
*\* \* hundred talents their weight, set up before the gate of a temple,*
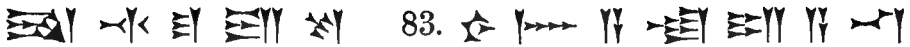
78.  [it] - ti   su-nu   as - suh   va   al -qa-a   a - na
*with them I removed, and brought to*
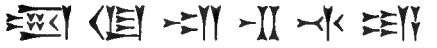
Assur   79.  [sal -lat   su]   ina   la   mi - ni   as - lu - la
*Assyria. [Its spoils] unnumbered I carried off.*

al - tu   ki - rib   Ni - ha   80.  [eli
*From the midst of Thebes, over*
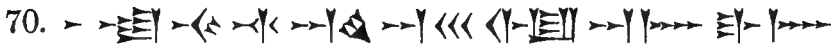
Mu - zur]   Ku - u - si   81.  kakki   ya
*Egypt and Ethiopia; my servants I*
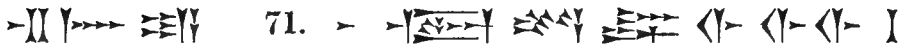
[u] - sam - ri - ir va   82.  [as - tak] - kan   li - i -tu
*caused to march, and I acquired glory.*
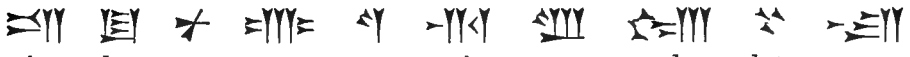
it - ti  ma - da  te  83.  sal - mis  a  tu - ra  a - na
*With  the  tributes*  *peacefully  I  returned  to*

Ninua  alu bilu - ti  ya
*Nineveh, the city of my dominion.*

K, 2675, OBVERSE LINE 70 TO REVERSE LINE 5.

70. Ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin  va  Ili  rabati
*In  the  service  of  Assur, Sin,  and  the  great  Gods*
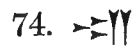
beli  ya  71.  ina  tahaz  zer  rap - si  abikta su
*my  lords;*  *in the wide battle field his overthrow they*

is  ku  nu  u - par - ri - ru  el - lat  su
*accomplished,  and  dispersed  his  forces.*

72. Ur - da - ma - ne  e  e - dis ip - par - sid va  e - ru - ub
*Rudammon  fled  alone,  and  entered*

a - na  Ni - ha  alu  saru ti su  73.  ma - lak arah
*into  Thebes,  his  capital  city.  A journey of a month*

10  immi  ur hi  pa - as  qu  u - ti  arku  su
*and  ten  days  on  a  difficult  road,  after  him*

il  li - ku a - di  ki  rib  Ni - ha  74.  alu
*they  went,  to  the  midst  of  Thebes.  That city,*

𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒁹 𒁍 𒀭 𒂗 𒄿 𒁹 𒅗 𒀭 𒈨 𒀭 𒈠 𒆐

su - a - tu   a - na   ṣi - ḫir   ti   su   ik - su - du   iṣ - pu - nu

*the       whole      of       it      they      took,      and      swept*

𒁹 𒆐 𒀭

a   bu - bis

*like a storm.*

REVERSE.

1. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒈨 𒁹 𒀭 𒁹 𒈨 𒀭 𒈠

Ḫuraẓ    kasap   e -par mat su ni -sik- ti      abni

*Gold  and  silver, the dust of his country, precious stones,*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒈨 𒈨 [𒀭] 𒈨 𒌋   2. 𒀭 𒀭 𒈨

ma - ak - ru   ni - sir   ti   [e -]  kal [su]      lu - bul - ti

*valuables(?)      treasures      of      his      palace,      garments*

𒀭 𒁹 𒈨 𒈠   𒈨 𒈨 𒀭 𒈠   𒈨 𒈠   𒈨 𒈠

bir - mi  kitui            susi            rabati      nisi

*costly  and  beautiful (?),      great      horses,      people*

𒈠 𒁹 𒀭   3. ▨▨▨▨ 𒁹 𒁹 𒈨 𒁹 𒀭 𒈠

zikir  va sinnis      * * * *   za - a - ti   pa - ge - e

*male  and  female,            bazati(?)            page      and*

𒈨 𒈨 𒀭 𒈠 𒈨 𒈨 𒁹 𒀭 𒈨   4. 𒁹 𒈨 𒈠 𒈨

u    qu - pi  tar - bit  sad- di  su  un            ina  la  mi - ni

*uqupi,    the products of their mountains,            without number,*

𒁹 𒀭 𒈠 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒁹 𒈨 𒈠 𒈨

a - na  mu - hu - de - e  ultu  ki - rib - e  su  u - se- ẓu - niv

*in    abundance   from   the   country   they   brought   out*

𒀭 𒈨 𒈠 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹   5. 𒁹 𒀭 𒈨 𒈨 𒀭

va   im - nu  u  sal - la - tis      a - na   Ninua   alu

*and   counted   as   spoil.      To   Nineveh,  the  city*

bi - lu - ti    ya    sal - mis    is - su - niv - va
*of    my    dominion,    peacefully    they    came    up,    and*

u - na - as - si - qu    sepi    ya
*kissed    my feet.*

In the two versions of the second Egyptian war there is the same difference as that noticed in the former part. One narrative (Cylinder A) representing Assurbanipal as invading Egypt a second time, and driving out Urdamane; while K, 2675, represents Urdamane to have been defeated and expelled by the Assyrian forces in Egypt.

# PART IV.

*The Siege of Tyre and the Affairs of Lydia.*

### TEXTS.

The two principal texts of the Tyrian campaign (Cylinders A and B) only differ in the earlier part by Cylinder B introducing two clauses not found in Cylinder A; these are marked in parentheses (*b*, &c.). The latter part of this division in Cylinder B is sufficiently different to be given separately. The texts will then be Cylinder A, col. ii, line 84, to col. iii, line 42 (the clauses introduced in Cylinder B being in lines 86 and 87), Cylinder B, col. ii, line 54, to col. iii, line 4, K, 2675, reverse lines 13 to 31, and a fragment of Cylinder E.

### CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINE 84, TO COLUMN III, LINE 42.

84. [Ina    salsi    gar - ri]    ya    eli    Ba    ha - li
[*In*]    *my*    [*third    expedition*]    *against    Bahal*

(v. al)    ṣar    Zur - ri          85.    * * *    lu - u    al    lik
(v. al)    *king    of Tyre*          * * *    *I    went;*

as -su    (v. sa)    a - mat    ṣaru - ti    ya          86.    la    iz - ẓu - ru
*who    my    royal    will          disregarded    and*

la    is - mu - u    zi - kar    sap - ti    (v. sapti)    ya
*did    not    hear    the    words    of    my    lips;*

87. [cuneiform] (b. [cuneiform]
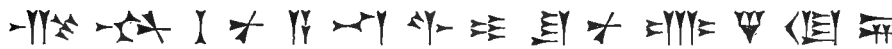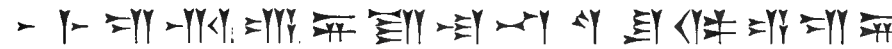
    ḫal- ẓu  ti    eli  su  u -rak-kiṣ  (b. * *    le - e

    *towers  round  him  I  raised;  (b. * *    his*

[cuneiform] 88. [cuneiform]

    nisi  su  u -dan- nin  ma - zir- tu)    ina tam- ti

    *people,  I  strengthened,  the  watch)  on  sea*

[cuneiform] (b. [cuneiform]

    va  na- ba- li  gar- ri - ti su  u -ẓab- bit  (b. a- lak - ta

    *and  land;  his  roads  I  took;  (b. his going out*

[cuneiform]

    su ab ru - uz  me  va  te- hu - u - ta  ba -laḍ

    *I  stopped,  water  and  sea  water  to  preserve*

[cuneiform]

    napisti  su- nu a - na  pi  i  su - nu  u -sa- ki - ir

    *their  lives  their  mouths  drank;*

[cuneiform]

    ina mi- ṣi  ri  dan- ni  sa  la  na -par- su  di  e - ṣi - ir

    *by  a  strong  blockade,  which  removed  not,  I  besieged*

[cuneiform] 89. [cuneiform]
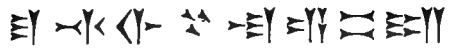
    su- nu- ti)    nap-sat ṣu - nu  u - ṣi  iq  u - tir - ri

    *them);  their spirits I humbled and caused to melt away;*

90. [cuneiform]
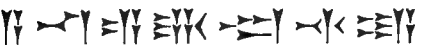
    a - na  niri  ya  u - sak - ni -iṣ  ṣu -nu- ti

    *to  my  yoke  I  made  them  submissive;  the*

91. [cuneiform]

    bintu  ẓi - bi- bi su va  binti  aḫi  su

    *daughter proceeding from his body and the daughters of his brothers*

92. [cuneiform]

    a - na  e - pis sal tuglu  u  ti  u  bi- la a- di

    *for  concubines  he  brought  to  my*

maḫ - ri   ya     93.   Ya - ḫi   mil - ki   ablu [su] tugulti(?)
*presence;*   *[to]*     *Yahimelek*   *[his]*   *son,*   *the sub-*

ma - ti   si -mat la   e - bi   ra     94.   is - te -nis   u - sat-[gil]
*mission of the country and an unequalled present(?) at once he entrusted,*
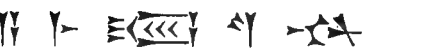
a- na   e -pis ardu- ti - ya     95.   binat   ṣu   va    binti
   *to make obeisance to me.*    *His daughter and the daughters*
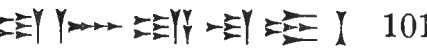
aḫi    su     96.   it - ti   tir -ḫa- ti ma- ha - aṣ - ṣi
*of his brothers,*     *with*     *their*    *great*     *dowries,*    *I*
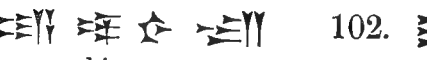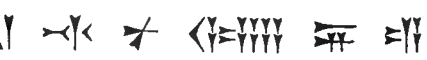
am   ḫar su     97.   re - e -mu   ar   si   su va ablu ẓi - it
  *received.*     *Favour I granted him, and the son proceeding*
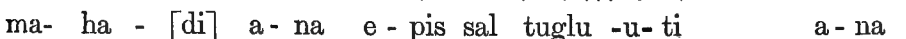
lib - bi   su     98.   u - tir   va   ad - din   (v. a - din) su
*from his body*     *I*   *restored*   *and*    *gave*    *him.*

Ya - ki - in - lu - u     99.   ṣar    A - ru - ad - da
    *Yakinlu*       *king*   *of*    *Arvad,*

a - sib   qabal tam - ti     100.   sa    a - na    ṣarri
*dwelling in the midst of the sea,*     *who*   *to*    *the*    *kings*
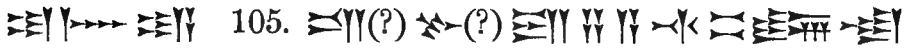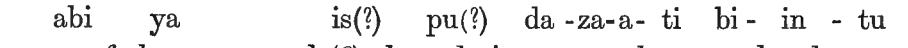
abi    ya   la kan-su     101.   ik -nu-sa a - na     niri
*my fathers was not submissive,*    *submitted*   *to*    *my*    *yoke,*
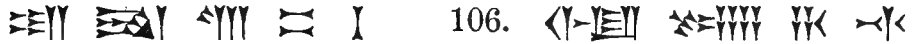
ya   binat   ṣu     102.   it - ti   nu   dun   ne   e
*his*    *daughter,*     *with*    *many*     *gifts,*
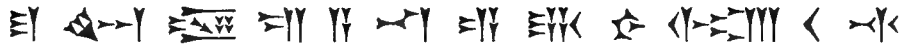
𒂖 𒀸𒅗 [𒌋𒈨] 𒐖 𒈠𒄿 𒈨𒌋 𒂊𒅋𒉺 𒀹 𒀀𒈾𒈨𒌋𒊑 𒆷𒈾     103. 𒐖 𒈠𒄿
ma- ha - [di] a - na   e - pis sal tuglu -u- ti        a - na
      *for*          *a*              *concubine*                *to*

𒌷𒈾𒀀 𒌋𒁀 𒂖𒀀 𒈾𒊏𒈨 𒊓𒋩 𒂖 𒂖𒀀 𒈾𒀸 𒅗 𒐖 𒈨𒌋 𒉺
Ninua      u - bil - av -va   u - na -as -siq sepi   ya
*Nineveh      he   brought,   and   kissed   my   feet.*
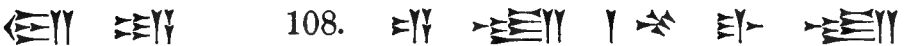
104. 𒀭 𒈬 𒄀𒀭 𒈗 𒋻 𒀀𒇻 𒊭 𒀉 𒋾 𒊮𒊑
      Mu- gal- lu   șar   Tab- alu  sa  it - ti  șarri
      *Mugallu    king of   Tubal, who against the kings*
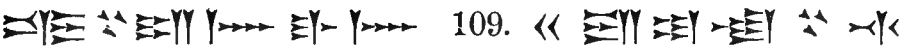
𒀀𒁉 𒉌𒀀     105. 𒊍𒐖(?) 𒌋-(?) 𒀭𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒈾 𒍝 𒍝𒀀𒋾 𒁉 𒀸 𒌋 𒌋
abi     ya          is(?)  pu(?) da -za-a- ti  bi - in - tu
*my   fathers      made(?) depredations,   the   daughter*
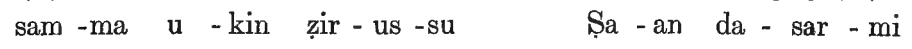
𒍝 𒀉 𒇷𒁉 𒋢 𒐕          106. 𒀀𒁀 𒌁𒄩𒋾 𒐖 𒀀
zi - it   lib- bi  su                va     tir - ha - ti
*proceeding from his body,           and    her   great*

𒂖 𒀸𒅗 𒀸 𒍝 𒀀 𒈾 𒂊 𒈨𒌋𒊑 𒀹 𒀀𒈾𒈨𒌋𒊑 𒆷 𒈾
ma- ha - aș - și a - na   e - pis sal tuglu - u  ti
      *dowry,           for       a            concubine*

107. 𒐖 𒈠𒄿 𒌷𒈾𒀀 𒌋𒁀 𒂖𒀀 𒈾𒊏𒈨 𒊓𒋩 𒂖 𒂖𒀀 𒈾𒀸 𒅗 𒐖
      a - na   Ninua   u - bil - av -va   u - na -as -siq
      *to   Nineveh   he   brought,   and   kissed*

𒊓𒋾 𒉺          108. 𒂖𒐖 𒂊𒇷 𒐕 𒈬 𒄀𒇷
sepi   ya               e - li   Mu - gal - li
*my   feet.*             *Over      Mugallu*
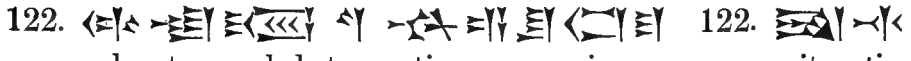
𒋢𒋛 𒊏𒁀𒋾 𒐖      109. 𒈠𒀭 𒁕 𒀜 𒌋 𒈣 𒋾
susi      rabati           man- da - at - tu  mat- ti
*great    horses   and*    *the tribute of the country the*

𒊓𒄠 𒈠 𒌋𒆥 𒍬𒄒𒊑𒋢 𒐕     110. 𒊝 𒀀𒅔 𒁕𒊬𒈪 𒐕-
sam -ma  u - kin  zir - us -su         Șa - an  da - sar - mi
*sum   I   fixed   upon   him.*         *Sandasarmi   of*

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 111. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
Ḥi- lak - ka - ai       sa   a - na    ṣarri     abi    ya
*Cilicia,*              *who  to  the  kings   my   fathers*

𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭 112. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
la   ik - nu -su        la   i - su   du  ab -sa -an su -un
*did not submit,*       *and  did  not  perform  their  pleasure,*

113. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
bintu   ẓi - it    lib  bi su  it - ti  nu - dun - ne - e
*the  daughter  proceeding  from  his  body,  with  many*

114. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
ma - ha - di  a - na   e - pis sal - tuglu - u - ti
*gifts,      for      a      concubine*

115. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
a - na   Ninua   u - bil - av -va   u - na -as -siq
*to    Nineveh   he   brought,   and   kissed*

𒀭 𒀭  116. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
sepi  ya       ul - tu  Ya - ki  in - lu - u  ṣar
*my  feet.*    *From    Yakinlu       king of*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭  117. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
A - ru - ad - da       e - mi - du  mata su
*Arvad,*               *I  took  away  his  country.*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭       𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
A - zi - ba - ha   al       A - bi - ba - ha - al
*Azibahal,*               *Abibahal,*

118. 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭   𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭   𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭
A -du -ni- ba - al   Ṣa -pa- di ba - al   Pu  di -ba- al
*Adonibahal,*        *Sapadibahal,*       *Pudibahal,*

119. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭   𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
Ba - ha   al - ya -su - pu   Ba   ha   al -ḫa -nu -nu
*Bahalyasup,*                 *Bahalhanun,*

120. 〔cuneiform〕

Ba - ha - al -ma- ln - ku    A - bi- mil - ki    A - ḫi- mil - ki

*Bahalmaluk,*         *Abimelek, and   Ahimelek,*

121. 〔cuneiform〕
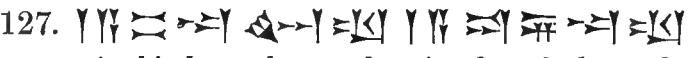
abli      Ya - ki - in - lu -u a -sib qabal tam- ti

*sons of*      *Yakinlu,*     *. dwelling in the midst*

122. 〔cuneiform〕     122. 〔cuneiform〕

ul - tu   qabal tam- ti   e -su-niv -va       it - ti

*of the sea, from the midst of the sea arose, and*     *with*

〔cuneiform〕   124. 〔cuneiform〕

ta -mar- ti su-nu ka - bit - tu       il - li -ku-niv -va

*their    numerous   presents*       *came    and*

〔cuneiform〕   125. 〔cuneiform〕

u   na - as - si   qu   sepi   ya      A - zi - ba - ha - al

*kissed*       *my   feet.*      *Azibahal*

〔cuneiform〕   126. 〔cuneiform〕

ha-dis ap - pa- lis va      a - na   ṣar -u- ti   A- ru   ad   da

*gladly I received, and*     *to the kingdom of*     *Arvad*

〔cuneiform〕   127. 〔cuneiform〕
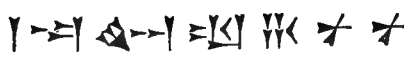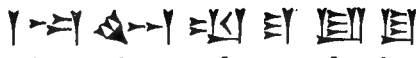
as- kun      A - bi- ba - ha - al    A - du- ni- ba - al

*appointed.*     *Abibahal,*       *Adonibahal,*

〔cuneiform〕

Ṣa - pa- di ba - al

*Sapadibahal,*


COLUMN III.

1. 〔cuneiform〕

Pu   di   ba - al     Ba - ha - al - ya - su pu

*Pudibahal,*        *Bahalyasup,*
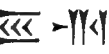
Ba - ha - al -ḫa-nu-nu
*Bahalhanon,*

2. Ba - ha - al -ma- lu -ku
*Bahalmaluk,*
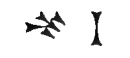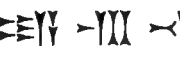
A - ḫi- mil - ki   A - ḫi- mil - ki
*Abimelek,   and   Ahimelek;*

3. lu -bul- ti   bir - mi
*costly   clothing*
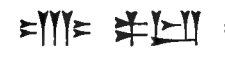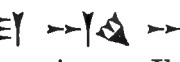
* * * *   semiri   * * * * *
* * *   *rings*   * * * * *

4. ina maḫ- ri   ya
*in   my   presence*

* * * * *
* * * * *
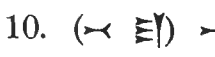
5. Gu - (ug) - gu   ṣar   Lu -ud- di
*Gyges   king of   Lydia,*
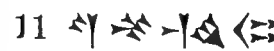
6. na - gu-u sa ni - bir - ti   ab - ba as-ru ru - u - qu
*a   district   which   is   across   the   sea,   a   remote   place,*

7. sa   ṣarri   abi   ya   la   is -mu- u   zik - ri
*of which the kings   my   fathers   had   not   heard   speak of*
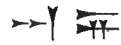
sum su   8. ni - bit   ṣaru - ti   ya kap- ti   ina   suttu
*its name.   The   account   of   my   grand   kingdom*

u - ṣap - ri   va Assur Ilu   ba -nu a   9. um -ma
*in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator,   thus:*

nir   * * * * * * * *
*" The yoke* *   *   *   *   *   *   *

10. (sum ma) ina   zi - kar
*(when)   in   remembrance*

* * * * *   11 im-mu   suttu [an -ni- tu   e -mu-ru]
* * * * *   *the   day [he   saw   that]   dream,*

12. rak - bu su [is - pu - ra a - na sa - ha al
his messenger [he sent, to pray for
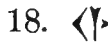
salim -mi ya] 13. suttu an - ni - [tu sa e -mu - ru]
my friendship]. That dream [which he saw],
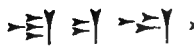
14. ina qati a - mir su is - pur - av - va u - sa - an-
by the hand of his envoy he sent, and repeated
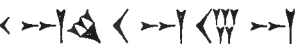
[na ya - a - ti] 15. ul - tu lib - bi im - mi sa iz - ba - tu
[to me]. From the midst of the day when he took the

niru [saru - ti ya] 16. Gi - mir (ra)·- ai
yoke of [my kingdom], the Cimmerians,
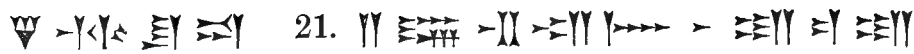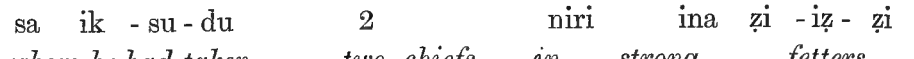
mu - da - al - li - pu nisi [su] 18. sa la
wasters of [his] people, who did not
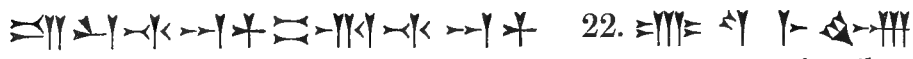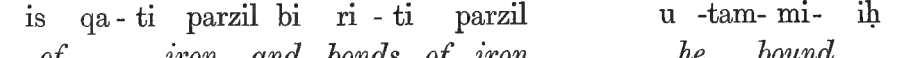
ip - tal la - hu abi ya va at - tu -u - a
fear my fathers and me, and
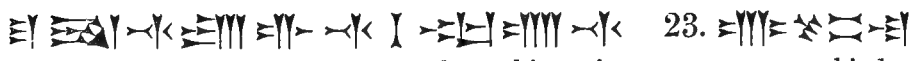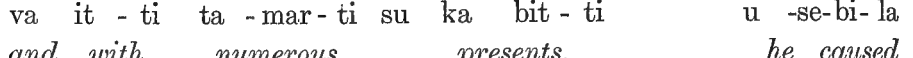
la iz - ba tu niru saru - ti ya ik - su -ud 19. ina
did not take the yoke of my kingdom, he captured, in

tugul- ti Assur va Istar Ili beli ya 20. ul tu
the service of Assur and Ishtar the Gods my lords. From the
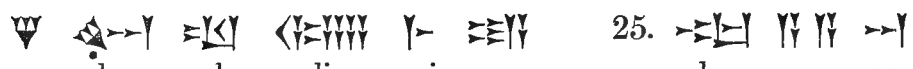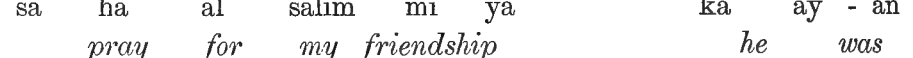
lib - (bi) niri sa Gi - mir (ra) - ai
midst of the chiefs of the Cimmerians,

K
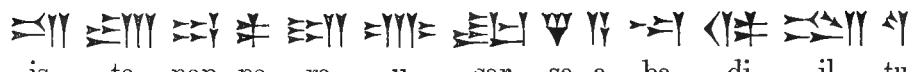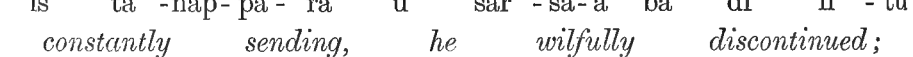
sa ik - su - du    21.   2    niri    ina ẓi -iẓ- ẓi
*whom he had taken,*    *two chiefs*    *in*    *strong*    *fetters*
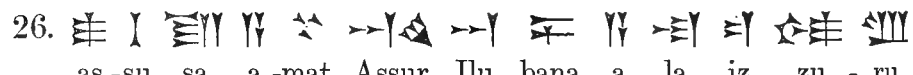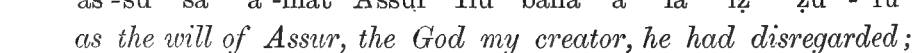
is qa - ti parzil bi ri - ti parzil    22. u -tam- mi- iḫ
*of*    *iron, and bonds of iron,*    *he*    *bound,*
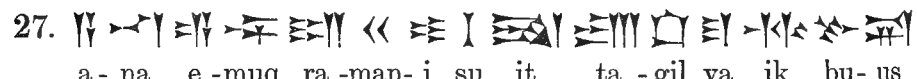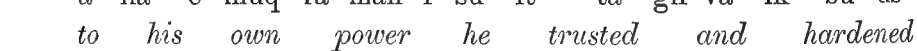
va it - ti ta -mar- ti su ka bit - ti    23. u -se-bi- la
*and with*    *numerous*    *presents,*    *he caused*
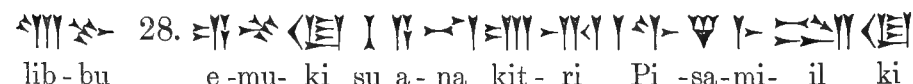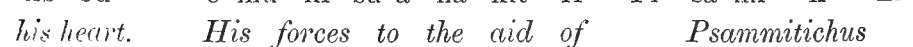
a - di maḫ ri ya    24. rak- bu su sa a - na
*to bring to my presence.*    *His*    *messengers*    *whom,*    *to*
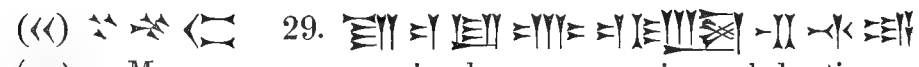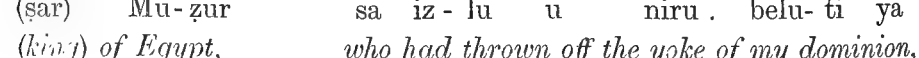
sa ha al salim mi ya    25. ka ay - an
*pray*    *for*    *my friendship*    *he*    *was*

is ta -nap- pa - ra u sar - sa- a ba di il - tu
*constantly*    *sending,*    *he*    *wilfully*    *discontinued;*

26. as -su sa a -mat Assur Ilu bana a la iẓ ẓu - ru
*as the will of Assur, the God my creator, he had disregarded;*

27. a - na e -muq ra -man- i su it ta -gil va ik bu- us
*to*    *his*    *own*    *power*    *he*    *trusted*    *and*    *hardened*
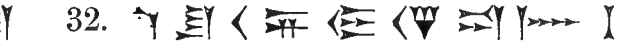
lib - bu    28. e -mu- ki su a -na kit- ri Pi -sa-mi- il ki
*his heart.*    *His forces to the aid of*    *Psammitichus*

(ṣar) Mu- ẓur    29. sa iz- lu u niru . belu- ti ya
*(king) of Egypt,*    *who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion,*

𒀭𒊹𒌋 𒀭𒌋 𒈨    30.  𒐊 𒀀𒈾 𒇷 𒆤 𒐊 𒀀 𒐊 𒌋 𒈨
is - pur va        a - na -ku as -me- e  va  u - sal  li
*he sent; and*      *I    heard   [of it],   and   prayed   to*

𒀭𒊹𒀀 𒐈 𒀭𒐊 𒈬    31.  𒌝 𒈨 𒉺 𒀭 𒐊 𒈾𒆠𒊑 𒋢 𒉺-�French
Assur va    Istar      um -ma pa- an   nakiri  su pa-gar su
*Assur and Ishtar*      *thus : " Before  his   enemies  his  corpse*

𒇷 𒈾 𒁲 𒀭 𒈨    32.  𒐊 𒈨 𒐈 𒋛 𒌋 𒐊 𒉌 𒈨𒉺𒊒 𒁲 𒐊 𒋢
li   na - di  va      lis - su - u - ni  ner - pad  dui(?)  su
*may  they  cast,  and*    *may  they  carry  captive  his  attendants."*

𒆠 - 𒐊 𒐈 𒀀- 𒈾 𒀭𒊹    33.  am ḫu - ru  is   li   * *  pa- an
ki - i  sa  a- na  Assur      am ḫu - ru  is   li   * *  pa- an
*When    thus   to    Assur*      *I had prayed, he requited me. Before*

𒈾𒆠𒊑 𒋢 𒉺 -𒀭 𒋢    34.  in - na    di  va  is -su- u - ni
nakiri  su pa-gar su      in - na    di  va  is -su- u - ni
*his  enemies  his  corpse*      *was thrown down, and they carried captive*

𒉌𒈨𒊒 𒀭 𒁲 𒐊 𒋢    35.  Gi - [mir]  ai  sa ina ni  bit
ner - pad - dui(?)   su      Gi - [mir]  ai  sa ina ni  bit
*his      attendants.*      *The Cimmerians whom by the glory*

sum ya  sa - pal  su  ik  bu  ṣu          36.  id  pu -[ku va]
*of  my  name  he  had  trodden  under  him*          *conquered    and*

iṣ - pu - nu   gi   mir mati su * * * su ablu su        37.  u - sib
*swept  the  whole  of  his  country  * * *  su (Ardys) his son*        *sat on*

ina    kuzzu    su  ip  sit    limut        ti  sa ina ni  is
*his       throne,    that  evil   work     at   the    lifting    up*

qati  ya        38.  Ili    ti  ik  li    ya  ina  pa - an
*of my hands,*        *the  Gods    my  protectors  in  the  time  of  the*

𒀀𒁀 (v. 𒁀-𒉌) su u sap ri - ku 39. ina qati

abi bani (v. ba - ni) su u sap ri - ku      ina qati

*father*    *his*    *begetter*    *had*    *destroyed.*     *By the hand*

    a - mir su is - pur - av -va iz- ba - tu     40.    niri

*of*    *his*    *envoy*    *he*   *sent*   *[word]*   *and*   *took*   *the*      *yoke*

saru ti ya um -ma sar sa Ilu i - du su at - ta

*of my kingdom thus:*   *"The king whom God has blessed art thou;*

41.   abu-u a ultu [ka] il - lik va limuttu is -sa- kin

*my*    *father*   *from*   *[thee]*   *departed,*   *and*   *evil*   *was*   *done*

ina pa- ni su     42.   ya - a- ti ardu hat-tu ka mat ban - ni- (i)

*in his time;*       *I*   *am*   *thy*   *devoted*   *servant, and*   *my*   *people*

ma- la su - da ab sa - an ka

*all*    *perform*    *thy*    *pleasure.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN II, LINE 54, TO COLUMN III, LINE 4,
VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINE 98, TO COLUMN III,
LINE 42.

54.   u - tir va a - ri - im su hal- zui

*I*   *restored*   *and*   *favoured*   *him.*    *The*    *towers*

55.   sa eli Ba - ha - li sar Zur - ri

*which*   *over*   *against*   *Bahel*    *king of*     *Tyre*

56.   u - rak - ki su ab tur ina tam - ti va

*I*   *had*   *raised,*   *I*   *pulled*   *down;*   *on*   *sea*   *and*

57.

na - bal - li     gar - ri   ti   su   ma - la   u - ẓab - bi   tu
*land*      *all   his   roads   which   I   had   taken   I*

58.

ab - ti     ma - da - at - ta   su   ka - bit - tu   am   ḥar   su
*opened ;     his    abundant    tribute    I    received ;*

59.

sal - mis   a - tu - ra   a   na   Ninua   alu belu - ti   ya
*peacefully I returned to Nineveh, the city of my dominion.*

63.

ma - al   ki   qabal tam - ti   va     ṣarri    a - sib
*Kings in the midst of the sea, and    kings    dwelling*

sa - de   e   sa - qu - u - ti     62.   da - na - an   ip - se - ti   ya
*in   the   lofty   mountains,     these    my    mighty*
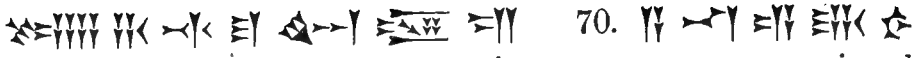
an   na - a - ti     63.   e - mu - ru   va   ip - la - ḫu   bel - u - ti
*deeds      saw,   and   feared   my    power.*

64.   Ya - ki   in   lu - u   ṣar    A ru - u - a - da
*Yakinlu     king of     Arvad,*
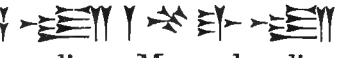
65.   Mu - gal - lu   ṣar   Tab - a - la    66.   ṣa   a - na   ṣarri
*Mugallu   king of   Tubal,     who   to the   kings*
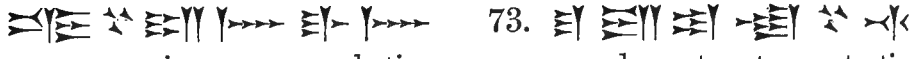
abi   ya   la   kan - su    67.   ik - nu - su a - na    niri    ya
*my fathers were not submissive,    submitted   to    my   yoke.*
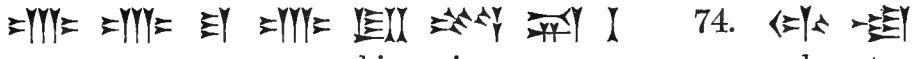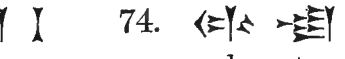
68.   binti     ẓi - it   lib   bi su - nu     69.   va
*The daughters proceeding from their bodies,     and*
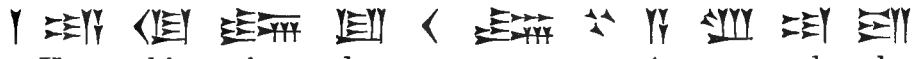
tir -ḫa- ti ma- ha - aṣ - ṣi       70. a- na    e - pis sal
*their*     *great*     *dowries,*        *for*      *concu-*

tuglu -u ti a- na Ninua      71. u -bi lu - niv -va
*bines*       *to*       *Nineveh*      *they*    *brought,*   *and*

u - na -as-si- qu sepi ya      72. e li Mu- gal- li
*kissed*      *my feet.*      *Over*     *Mugallu*

susi      rabati      73. ma- da at - tu mat- ti
*great horses*      *the tribute of the country*
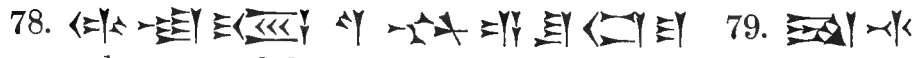
u - sam -ma u kin ẓiru us -su      74. ul - tu
*the*    *sum*   *I*   *fixed*    *upon*    *him.*      *From*

Ya - ki in - lu - u ṣar      A - ru - ad - da
*Yakinlu*       *king of*       *Arvad*

75. e mi du mata su A zi ba - (ha) al
*I took away his county.*     *Azibahal,*
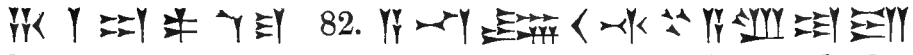
76. A - bi - ba ha - al A du - ni ba - ha al
*Abibahal,*      *and*      *Adonibahal,*

77. abli Ya - ki in - lu -u a-sib qabal tam- ti
*sons of*     *Yakinlu,*    *dwelling in the midst of the sea,*

78. ul tu qabal tam- ti e -su - niv -va     79. it - ti
*from the midst of the sea arose, and*      *with*

𒋫 𒀉𒋾 su-nu ka-bit-tu il li-ku-niv-va
ta-mar-ti su-nu ka-bit-tu il li-ku-niv-va
*their* *numerous* *presents* *came* *and*

80. u-na-as-si-qu sepi ya   81. A-zi-ba-ha al
u-na-as-si-qu sepi ya      A-zi-ba-ha al
*kissed* *my feet.*        *Azibahal*

ha-dis ap-pa-lis va   82. a-na sar-u-ti A-ru-ad-da
ha-dis ap-pa-lis va      a-na sar-u-ti A-ru-ad-da
*gladly I received,*     *and to the kingdom of* *Arvad*

às-kun   83. A-bi-ba al A-du-ni-ba-al
às-kun      A-bi-ba al A-du-ni-ba-al
*appointed*  *Abibahal* *and* *Adonibahal;*

84. lu-bul-ti bir-mi * * * * semiri * * * *
lu-bul-ti bir-mi * * * * semiri * * * *
*costly* *clothing* * * * * *rings* * * * *

85. ina mah-ri ya * * * *   86. Gu-ug gu sar
ina mah-ri ya * * * *          Gu-ug gu sar
*in my presence* * * * *       *Gyges* *king of*

87. Lu-ud-di na-gu-u sa ni bir-ti ab-ba
Lu-ud-di na-gu-u sa ni bir-ti ab-ba
*Lydia,* *a district which is across the sea,*

as-ru ru-u qu   88. sa sarri abi ya la
as-ru ru-u qu      sa sarri abi ya la
*a remote place,*  *of which the kings my fathers had not*
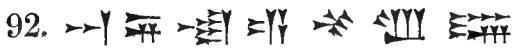
is-mu-u zik-ri sum su   89. ni-bit saru ti ya
is-mu-u zik-ri sum su      ni-bit saru ti ya
*heard speak of its name.*  *The account of my grand*
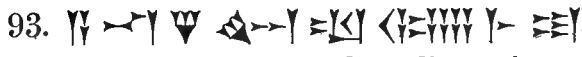
kap-ti ina suttu u sap-ri va Assur Ilu ba-nu a
kap-ti ina suttu u sap-ri va Assur Ilu ba-nu a
*kingdom in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator,*
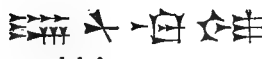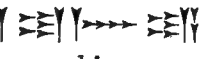
90. um - ma   niri   * * * * *
thus: "the yoke * * * *
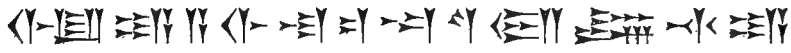
91. ina   zi - kar   [suttu
In   remembrance [of

an - ni - tu]   niri   ṣaru - ti   ya   iz]- ba -tu   im-mu   suttu
that dream] the yoke of my kingdom he had taken].   The day he
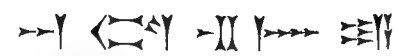
92. an - ni - tu   e - mu - ru      rak- bu   su   is - pu - ra
saw   that   dream   his   messenger   he   sent

93. a - na   sa - ha - al   salim -mi   ya      Gi - mir - ai
to   pray   for   my   friendship,    The Cimmerians,

nakiri   aq - ẓu    94. [sa   la   ip] - la - hu   abi   ya
extreme   rebels,      who   feared   not   my   fathers

va   ya -a- si   la   iṣ- ba -tu   niri   ṣaru - ti   ya
and me,   and   took   not   the   yoke   of   my   kingdom.
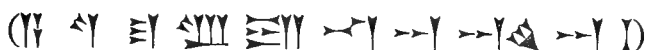
COLUMN III, LINES 1 TO 4.

1. [Ina   tugul- ti   Assur   va]   Maruduk    beli   ya
In the service of Assur and   Merodach    my lords,

2. [ik - su - ud   ina   is] - qa - ti    si - ga - ri
he   took,   and in   fetters   and    chains

u -tam-mi- ih   va    3. [it - ti   ta - mar]- ti su
he   bound   and    [with]   his   numerous

𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹    4. 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
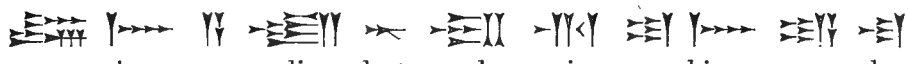
| ka - | bit | ti | u -se- | bi | la | | a- | di | maḥ | ri | ya |
|------|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|
| *presents,* | | *he* | *sent* | | | | | *to* | | *my presence* | |

(𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹)

| (a -tam- ma- ru | da | na | an | Assur | Ilu | su) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (*I* | *saw* | *the* | *power* | *of* | *Assur his God*). | |
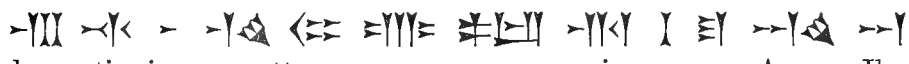
K, 2675, Reverse, Lines 13 to 31.

13. 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹

| Gu | gu | ṣar | Lu -ud- di | na | gu | u |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Gyges* | *king of* | | *Lydia,* | | *a* | *district* |

𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹    14. 𒁹𒁹

| ni | bir | ti | ab | ba | as - ru | ru | u | qu | | sa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *across* | *the* | | *sea,* | *a* | | *remote* | *place,* | | | *of which* |

𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
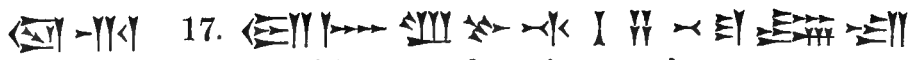
| ṣarri | a - | li - kut | maḥ | ri | abi | ya | la |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *the kings* | | *going* | *before* | *me,* | *my fathers, had not* | | |

𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹    15. 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
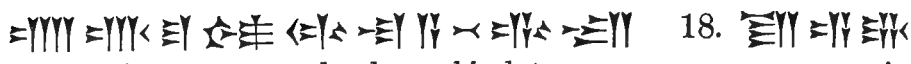
| is - mu - u | zik | ri | sum | su | | ni - bit | ṣaru | ti | ya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *heard* | *speak* | *of* | *its* | *name.* | *The account of my great kingdom* | | | | |

𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹

| kap- ti | ina | suttu | u | sap | ri | su | va | Assur | Ilu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *in* | *a* | *dream* | *was* | *related* | *to* | *him* | *by Assur, the God* | |

𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹    16. 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹

| ba - nu - u | a | | um - ma | sa | Assur -bani -pal | ṣar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *my creator,* | | *thus :* | "*Of* | *Assurbanipal* | *king* | |

𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹

| Assur | ḥi | suḥ | ti | Assur | ṣar | Ili | bel |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *of Assyria,* | *the* | *beloved* | *of* | *Assur* | *king of the Gods,* | *lord* | |
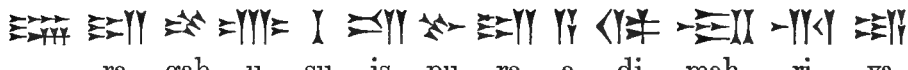
17.

gim ri        niri   ru - bu - ti  su ẓa-bat va  ṣaru - ṣu
*of all;*      *his  princely  yoke  take,  his   majesty*
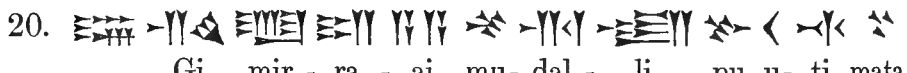
18.

pit - luḫ va  ẓu - ul - la - a bi - lut  ṣu      sa  e - pis
*reverence and  submit to his dominion.*    *By making*
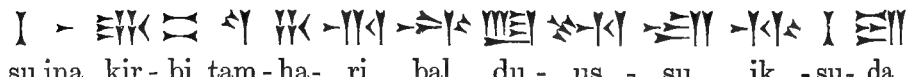
ardu - u - ti va na -din man- da - at - ti  lil - li - ku - us
*obeisance and   giving   tribute   may   thy   words*
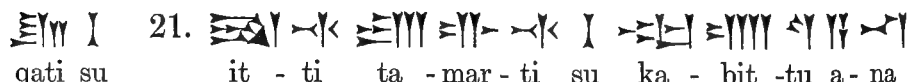
19.

ṣu - up pu  ka      im - mu  suttu  an - ni - tu
*come  to  him."*  *The   day   he   saw   that*

e  mu - ru  a - na  sa  ha - al  salim - mi  ya
*dream,     to    pray   for   my friendship,*

ra - gab- u  su  is - pu - ra  a - di  maḫ - ri  ya
*his  messenger  he    sent    to   my presence.*

20.

Gi  mir - ra - ai  mu- dal - li - pu-u- ti mata
*Cimmerians,     wasters  of  his  country,*

su ina kir- bi tam-ḫa- ri  bal ḍu - uṣ - ṣu  ik - su - da
*in  the   midst  of   war,   alive   his   hand*
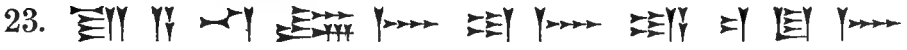
21.

qati su    it - ti  ta -mar- ti su  ka - bit -tu a - na
*had taken.   With    numerous presents,     to*
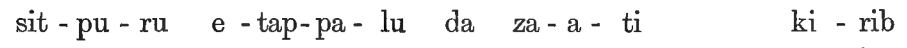
Ninua  alu bi - lu  ti  ya  u - se- bil - av - va
*Nineveh the city of  my dominion,      he   sent   and*
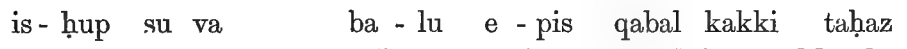
𒀀𒈾𒅆 ⸗𒆠 𒌓 𒈾 𒀸𒉌𒌋 22. 𒀭 𒈬 𒅅 𒇷 𒈗
u    na - as - siq   sepi   ya        Mu - gal - li    ṣar
*kissed        my feet,          Mugallu        king of*
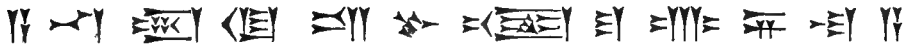
𒀭 (blank) 𒀸 𒅆𒁉 𒄯 𒊓 𒀀 𒉌 𒊓 𒁲 𒉿 𒊍 𒆪 𒌋 𒋾
(*blank*)    a - sib   ḫar - sa - a - ni   sa - di   pa - as - qu - u - ti
(*blank*)    *dwelling   in   the   forests   and   rugged mountains,*

23. 𒊓 𒀀 𒈾 𒊬𒊑 �]𒁉 𒅀 𒆗𒆠 𒀭 𒂵 𒅀
     sa    a - na     ṣarri      abi     ya     kakki
     *who against   the kings   my fathers had sent fighting men,*

𒋾𒅤 𒁍 𒊒 𒂊 𒋰𒉺 𒇻 𒁕 𒍝 𒀀 𒋾   24. 𒆠 𒪊
sit - pu - ru   e - tap - pa - lu   da   za - a - ti        ki - rib
*and   had   increased   depredations,       within*

𒈣 𒋢 ḫat - ti   im - qut   ṣu   va   pu   luḫ - ti   ṣaru - ti   ya
*his country  fear   struck   him, and the terror of   my kingdom*

is - ḫup   su   va        ba - lu   e - pis   qabal   kakki   taḫaz
*overwhelmed him.*       *Without   making war, fighting, and battle,*

a - na     Ninua     is - pu - rav - va   u - zal - la   a
*to     Nineveh     he   sent,   and   submitted to*
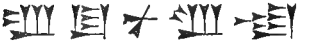
bi   lu - u - ti        26. susi        rabati
*my dominion.*        *Great   horses*
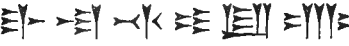
[ma - da] - at - tu   na - dan mat - ti   su   u - kin   ẓi   ru - us - su
*the tribute   given by his country   I   fixed   upon   him.*

27. Ik   ki   lu - u   ṣar   Ar   u - a - da   a - sib
     *Ikkilu        king of        Arvad,   dwelling*
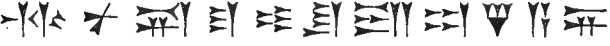
ra -pa- as - ti   qabal tam- ti
*afar off, in the midst of the sea;*

**28.** sa   ki - ma nunu ina
*who, like a fish in*

me   la   ni   i - bi   * * *   ḫa   e - de - e   dan - ni
*the boundless waters   * . * *   long(?) time(?) the*

sit - ku-nu   ru   tu
*place(?) was;*

**29.** sa   eli   (v. e   li)   tam- ti
*who   over   the   great*

gal- la   ti   i   lu   u   va   la   kit -nu-su a - na   ni   i - ri
*sea    roamed,    and was not submissive to the yoke*

**30.** bi - lu -u- ti   lu   u   va a - na   e   pis ardu - ti   ya
*of   my   dominion.    Now,   to   perform   my service*

ik - nu   us   va   i - su - ḍa   ab - sa-a- ni
*he submitted, and he executed my pleasure.*

**31.** ḫurazi
*Gold,*

sarad ṣami     sarad zalmi     nuni    izzuri   mat- ti
*green paint,    black paint,    fishes and birds, of the country*

sam -ma   u   kin   e   li   su
*the   sum   I   fixed   over   him.*

FRAGMENT OF CYLINDER E, LINES 1 TO 12.
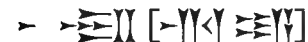
**1.** A   na   me - ṣir   mati ya    nisi    mati   ya
*To   the   border   of   my country the men of my country*

𒀞 ▨▨▨ 2. 𒀳 ⟩⟨ 𒀸 ⟨ ⟨ ⟩ 𒀳 ⟩⟨

iz * * *     man-nu me- e  at - ta  a-hu-u  ig - bu  [u]

    * * *     *"who*   *art*   *thou*   *brother?"*   *they*   *said;*

3. 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳     4. 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳

  sa  ma- ti -ma      ra -gab- u          da -rag· gu  la

  *" of what place?"*   *The messenger*     *the road took not*

𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ⟨𒀳 [𒀳 𒀳 𒀳]     5. 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ⟨𒀳

is -ku - na  a- na  ki -[rib mati ya]      a- na   Ninua

   *to*    *the*     *midst of [my country,]*    *to*    *Nineveh*

𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ▨▨▨▨     6. 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳

alu  bi- lu  ti  ya  * * * *      u - bi - lu - ni  su

*the city of my dominion*    * * * *     *they brought him*

➤ 𒀳 [𒀳 𒀳]     7. 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ⟨𒀳

ina maḥ - [ri  ya]          lisani     ẓi  it      sam- si

*into*   *[my] presence.*   *The languages of the rising of the sun (east)*

𒀳 𒀳 [𒀳 𒀳 ⟨𒀳]     8. 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ⟨
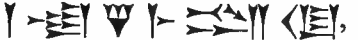
e - rib      [sam- si]          sa  Assur   u -ma- al - lu - u

*and the setting of the sun (west), which Assur*   *had*    *committed*    *to*

[𒀳 𒀳 ⟨ 𒀳]     9. ➤ 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ⟨𒀳 𒀳 ⟨𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳

[qa- tu -u- a]      be- el  lisan  su  ul  ib  si va lisan su

 [my hand].    *A master of his language there was not, his tongue*

▨▨▨▨     10. 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ▨▨▨▨

* * * *          la   i   sim - mu -  u          * * * *

* * * *          *they could not   understand*     * * * *

11. ⟨𒀳 𒀳 ⟨𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 ▨▨▨     12. 𒀳 𒀳

  ul - tu   me - ṣir  mati  * * *             it  ti

    *from*    *the*    *border*   *of*   * * *     *with*

𒀳 𒀳 𒀳 [𒀳] ▨▨▨▨

su  u - bi  [la]  * * * *

*him  he  brought*   * * * *

These texts differ in some important points; the earliest one, K, 2675, does not mention either the submission of Tyre, the tribute of Sandasarmi of Cilicia, or the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. Cylinder B, which was written during the war with Saulmugina, describes the submission of Tyre, but omits the Cilician tribute and revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. All these events are narrated on Cylinder A, which was written later than either of the other texts. From these facts, and the statement that Miluḫḫa (Ethiopia) revolted with Saulmugina (Cylinder A, col. iv, l. 35), I judge that the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus took place at the time of the general rising against Assyria, in which Saul-mugina the king's brother was concerned. The fragment of Cylinder E is part of an account of the reception of the envoy of Gyges king of Lydia. (Pisamilki king of Egypt is the Psammitichus of the Greeks, hier. 𓏏𓆣 (𓇳𓏠𓈖) 𓅭 (𓊪𓋴𓅓𓏏𓏤) Psametik). One copy of Cylinder A writes this name 𒁹 𒂊 𒊭 𒈪 𒅋 𒆠, Tu-sa-mi-il-ki; the first character here is so evidently a mistake that I have not inserted it as a variant. On Tablet K, 3402, the two Egyptian wars having been given as one, the war with Bahal of Tyre is called the second expedition, instead of the third.

# PART V.

### *The Conquest of Karbit.*

#### TEXTS.

The texts of this expedition are Cylinder B, col. iii, lines 5 to 15 ; K, 2675, reverse, lines 6 to 12 ; and a fragment of Cylinder E, lines 1 to 10.

#### CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINES 5 TO 15.

5. [Ina arbe- e gar]- ri ya a - na Kar -bat
   [*In my fourth*] *expedition to Karbat*

6. [ki - rib Ḫa- le] - e -ḫa- az - ta lu -u al -lik
   *in Halehasta I went.*

7. [Ta - an -da - ai] niru su -nu ana ṣarri
   [*Tandai*] *their chief to the kings*

   abi ya [la kit -nu -su a- na] niri va nisi
   *my fathers* [*had not been submissive to*] *the yoke, and the men*

   a si - bu - ti Kar - bat   9. [ka ay - an
   *dwelling in Karbat* [*constantly*] *were*

   aḫ] - ta -nab- ba - tu ḫu bu -ut mati ya mut - ba - la
   *carrying off the plunder of my country.*

(v. 𒀭𒈬𒌋)      10. [𒀭 𒂍 𒌋]   𒀀𒈾  𒋀𒀉  𒈗  𒀭  𒀭

(v. li)                [ina tugulti]   Assur   Bel   va   Nabu

                      [In the service] of Assur, Bel, and Nebo,

11. [𒃼𒁁 𒀠 𒈪 𒀝]𒋢𒌓𒀾𒇻 𒆷 𒊩𒆷𒋼 𒋢

                [Kar-bat al - mi ak] -su -ud as - lu   la   sal-lat   ṣu

                [Karbat I besieged,] I captured, I carried off its spoil.

12. [𒋫 𒀭 𒁕 𒀀𒀀]𒉌𒊒 𒋢𒉡    13. [𒁄 𒁺 𒋢

      [Ta - an - da - ai]     niru     su - nu      [bal ḍu - ṣu

              [Tandai]         their  chief           [alive

𒀀 𒀸𒁲 𒋾   𒊍 𒁁 𒁀]𒀠 �qa 𒀀 𒀀 𒈾   𒀸𒋩

ina qa - ti    aẓ - bat va]   al   qa   a   a - na     Assur

in     hand   I took, and]   brought       to       Assyria;

14. [𒉌𒌋 𒊭]𒆷 𒀸 𒇻 𒇻   15. [𒄿 𒈾 𒆠 𒌶]

      [nisi   sa]   la   as - lu   lu       [i - na   ki   rib]

      [the people] whom I had not carried off   [into the midst of]

𒈬] 𒍑 𒊭 𒊍 𒁴 𒀀

Mu- ẓur   u  -sa - aẓ   bit

Egypt   I   caused to be taken.

K, 2675, REVERSE, LINES 6 to 12.

6. 𒃼𒁁 𒊭 𒆠 𒌶 𒄩 𒇷 𒂊 𒄩 𒊍 𒋫
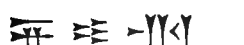
      Kar-bat sa   ki - rib     Ḥa- le - e -ḫa- aẓ   ta

      Karbat,   which   in         Halehazta

𒈾 𒁕 𒋫 𒋢 𒁁 𒋢   7. 𒉌𒌋 𒀀 𒀸𒁲 𒈛 𒋢 𒂊𒇷
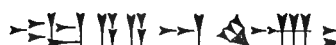
na - da   ta   su -bat ṣu       nisi   a -sib lib su   eli

  is   situated,         the people   dwelling  in  it, to
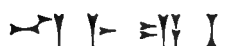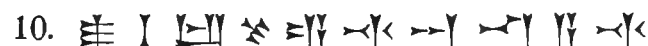
sadi   su-nu mar- ẓu   u   ti tak lu va la pit lu-ḫu

their   rugged  mountains  trusted,  and feared not   the

𒀯 ... 8. ... 
bi - lut    Assur      Ta - an   da   ai     niru    su-nu
*power of Assyria.*     *Tandia*       *their chief,*    *who*

sa   a - na     ṣarri      abi    ya    la   kit - nu-su   a - na
*to the*      *kings*     *my fathers was not submissive to the*

ni - i - ri     9.   ḫu   bu - ut   mati   ya    mut - ba - la
*yoke,*        *the plunder of my country*

ka    ay - an    iḫ   ta -nab- ba - tu    u     saḫ - ri   bu
*constantly*     *they   carried   off,*     *and   wasted*

na - me - e   su     10.   as-su   ip - se - e   ti   an - na   a - ti
*its produce.*      *About*       *these*        *things,*

abli    Dur    il     im   da - ḫa - ru - ni   va   u -sal- lu -u
*the sons of*   *Duril*       *besought me,*    *and*    *supplicated*

bi    lu   (u) - ti     11.         su - ut -    saki      ya
*my   power.*              *My    generals,*

sanuti     eli   su - nu    u -ma - hi - ir      Kar - bat
*the prefects*    *over*    *them,*    *I*    *sent,*      *and*     *Karbat*

ik - su - du   is - lu   la    nisi    su     12.    nisi
*they captured,   and   carried off   its people.*     *The people*

alani      sa     tu    nu    ki    sit    ti    qati   ya
*of those cities*        *captured*      *by*       *my hand*

M

| aṣ | ṣuḫ | va | ki | rib | Mu | ẓur | u | - sa- |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *I* | *removed,* | *and* | *into* | | *Egypt* | | | *caused* |

| aẓ | bit |
|---|---|
| *to be taken.* | |

### FRAGMENT OF CYLINDER E, LINES 1 TO 9.

1.
| [qu - ra] - di | su | u - ra - ṣi - bu | ina | kaki |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *·His warriors* | *they* | *destroyed* | *with the* | *sword;* |

2.
| imiri | alpi | ẓe - e | ni |
|---|---|---|---|
| *asses,* | *oxen,* | *and* | *sheep,* |

3.
| [sal-lat] | ṣu |
|---|---|
| *its spoil* | *in* |

| ka - bit - tu | is - lu - lu | u | ni |
|---|---|---|---|
| *abundance* | *they carried* | *off* | |

4.
| [ana | ki] - rib |
|---|---|
| *to the* | *midst of* |

| Assur |
|---|
| *Assyria.* |

5.
| [Ta - an] | da - ai | niru | su-nu |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Tandia* | | *their* | *chief* |

| bal - ḏu - ṣu | ina | qa - ti |
|---|---|---|
| *alive* | *in* | *hand* |

6.
| [iz - ba] - tu - ni | ub | lu -u- ni |
|---|---|---|
| *they took,* | *and* | *brought* |

| a - di | maḫ - ri ·· ya |
|---|---|
| *to* | *my presence.* |

7.
| [nisi] | sa | alani |
|---|---|---|
| *[The people]* | *of those* | *cities* |

| su - nu | ti | aṣ - ṣuḫ |
|---|---|---|
| *I removed,* | | *and* |

8.
| [i na] | ki | rib | Mu -ẓur |
|---|---|---|---|
| *into the* | *midst* | | *of Egypt* |

𒌋𒊬 𒅗 𒍝 𒌋𒊬    9. [𒌋𒊬 𒈠 𒅆] 𒈾 𒍝 𒌋 𒋫 𒅗

u - sa    az    bit       [nisi    iz]- bam  ya    sa  mat sa

*I caused to be taken.*       *Men  of  my bow, of countries which*


𒍝 𒋾 𒉿    10. [𒂊 𒌋 𒅖] 𒅗 𒁉 𒀀 𒌋𒊬

zal    ti    va       [i    na]      Kar  bi    it    va

*were conquered*        *in*        *Karbat*        *and*


𒅖 𒈠 𒄿 𒍝 𒊬 𒀠

alani    su    u - se - sib

*its cities,  I      placed.*


The campaign against Karbit, or Karbat, is the least important
of Assurbanipal's expeditions. We find again some copies claiming
the expedition for the king; but there is no doubt, from the
statements of K, 2675, and Cylinder E, that an Assyrian general
commanded. As the captives were transported to Egypt, this cam-
paign must have taken place before the revolt of Psammitichus.
Karbat appears to have been situated in the mountains east of the
Tigris, and between Assyria and Elam.
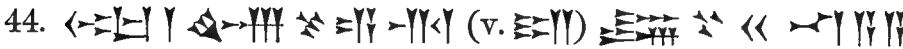
# PART VI.

*The War with Minni.*

### TEXTS.

There are two principal texts to this expedition; Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 43 to 82, and Cylinder B, col. iii, line 16, to col. iv, line 14.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN III, LINES 43 TO 82.

43. ⸺ 𒀭 𒂊𒋫 𒂊𒆠𒃷 𒉌𒅗𒋾 𒂠𒀭 𒂠𒀭 𒈗 𒀪𒃻𒋾 𒂠𒀭

Ina arbe- e  gar - ri  ya . ad  ki  ummani  ya

*In  my fourth expedition, I gathered  my army;*

44. 𒂊𒇷 𒀪 𒋛 𒂊 𒊑 (v. 𒊏) 𒈗 𒈠 𒈾 𒀀 𒄿

eli     Aḫ -se- e - ri   (v. ra)  ṣar   Man- na - ai

*against   Akhseri           king of     Minni*

45. 𒍑 𒅆 𒌍 𒊺 𒂊𒊑 𒄞 𒊑𒉡 𒌋    46. ⸺ 𒀭 𒆠 𒉌𒀉 𒀸𒋩

us -te - es -se - ra  mur  ra -nu      ina  ki - bit Assur

*I  directed  the  march.        By command of Assur,*

𒀭 𒌍 𒀭𒌓 𒀭𒅎 𒂗 𒀭𒀝    47. 𒀭𒁹 𒂊𒇷

'Sin    Samas    Vul    Bel   Nabu        Istar    sa

*Sin,  Shamas,   Vul,   Bel,   Nebo,       Ishtar   of*

𒌷𒉌𒉌 𒀭 𒈗 𒋰 𒆠𒈬 𒊑 𒀭𒅖    48. 𒀭𒁹 𒂊𒇷

Ninua   Ilu   ṣar - rat Kit-mu  ri        Istar    sa

*Nineveh, the divine queen of  Kitmuri,*    *Ishtar   of*

𒅈 𒀭 𒀭𒎏 𒀭𒃲 𒀭𒉀    49. 𒀭 𒆠𒅕

Arba- il        Ninip   Nergal   Nusku      ki - rib

*Arbela,     Ninip,    Nergal, and Nusku;*    *into*

Man- na - ai e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak sal-dis
*Minni* *I entered* *and* *marched victoriously;*

50. alani su dan-nu- ti a- di zihruti sa ni - i - ba
*his strong cities and* *smaller ones,* *which* *were*

la i -su -u a- di ki rib I -zir -tu (v. ti)
*without number,* *to the* *midst of* *Izirtu,*

51.

ak su -ud (v. aksud) 52. ab -bul ag -gur ina isati
*I took;* *I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire*

ak ¬ mu nisi susi imiri
*I burned.* *People,* *horses,* *asses,*

53.

alpi zeni ul - tu ki - rib alani
*oxen,* *and* *sheep,* *from the* *midst of* *those*

54. sa - a - tu - nu u - se ẓa - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu
*cities* *I brought* *out,* *and as* *a* *spoil* *I* *counted.*

55. Ah -se- e - ri a - lak gar ri ya is -me- e va
*Ahseri* *of the progress of my expedition heard; and*

56. u -vas- ser I - zir -tu alu ṣar - (u) ti su
*abandoned* *Izirtu* *his royal city;*

57. a - na Is - ta at - ti alu tuglu - ti su
*to* *Istatti* *his* *castle* *he*

𒀭 𒀸 𒈨𒌋𒌋 𒀀     58. 𒂊 𒄷 𒊘 𒈥 𒆠 𒌅
in - na - bit   va     e   ḫu - uz   mar - ki - tu
*fled,*    *and*      *took*   *refuge.*

𒀀 𒄀 𒌋 𒋢 𒀀 𒌅 𒀝 𒋢 𒌓     59. 𒈠 𒇴 10 𒅎 𒈪 5 𒅎 𒈪
na   gu -u   su -a -tu   ak - su -ud     ma- lak 10 im- mi 5 im- mi
*That*   *district*   *I*   *took;*     *for fifteen days' journey*

𒌋 𒊩 𒊑 𒅗 (v. 𒊑 𒅁) 𒀀     60. 𒐏 𒊓 𒀝 𒈠 𒌅
u     saḫ - rib   (v. ri - ib)   va     sa- qu - um -ma- tu
*I*   *laid*   *waste,*      *and*      *the highlands*

𒀭 𒌍 𒄷     61. 𒈗 𒀪 𒄷 𒋼 𒊑 la pa -laḫ (v. 𒌋)
ad - bu - uk      Aḫ -se- e - ri   la pa -laḫ   (v. luḫ)
*I conquered.*     *Ahseri.*     *not fearing*

𒁁 𒆠 𒅀     62. 𒈨 𒀀 -mat Istar a si -bat Arba- il
belu- ti   ya     ina a -mat Istar   a   si -bat Arba- il
*my power,*    *by the will of Ishtar   dwelling in   Arbela,*

𒐏 𒌋 𒌅 𒊑 𒂊 𒋛 tag 𒁀 𒌋     63. 𒌝 𒈠 𒀀 𒈾 𒆪
sa ul -tu   re   e   si tag bu -u     um -ma a - na -ku
*who*   *from*   *the*   *first*   *had*   *spoken*     *thus:*   *"I am*
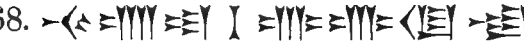
𒈪 𒌅 𒌅 𒈗 𒀪 𒊑 𒊬 𒌋 𒀀 𒄿
mi tu   tu     Aḫ -se- e   ri   ṣar   Man- na   ai
*the destroyer of*     *Ahseri,*     *king of*     *Minni."*

64. 𒆠 i sa ag - bu   u   ip pu - us ina qati   ardi   su
ki   i   sa   ag - bu   u   ip   pu - us ina qati   ardi   su
*When I had commanded it, it was accomplished.   Into the hands of his*
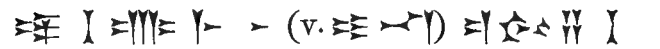
65. tam nu su va   nisi   mati su ṣi ḫu   eli   su
tam   nu   su   va     nisi    mati su ṣi   ḫu    eli   su
*servants she delivered him, and   the people of his country a revolt*
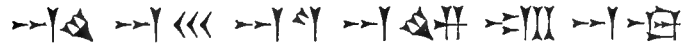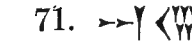
𒌋 𒊓 𒁀 𒌋     66. ina tarzi alu su   sa -lam- ta su
u    sab - su -u     ina tarzi alu su     sa - lam - ta su
*against him made, and   in front of his city   his attendants   threw*

𒀭𒀭𒀭 67. 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭
id - du - u     in   da   as - sa - ru   pa - gar su
*down   and*       *tore in pieces*    *his corpse.*
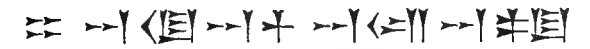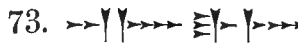
𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭 68. 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭
ahi   su kin-nu su    ziri bit abi su   u - sam - ki - tu
*His brothers, his relatives,*    *and the seed of the house of his father, they*
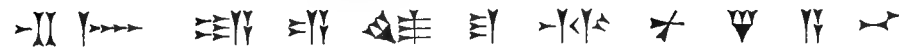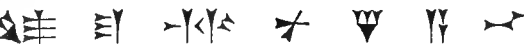
𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 69. 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 (𒀭) 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭
ina    kakki      arku    U - (a) al - li - i
*destroyed with the sword.*    *Afterwards*      *Vaalli*
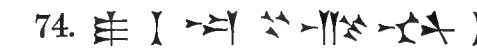
𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 - (v. 𒀭 𒀭) 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 70. 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
ablu su   u -sib ina   (v. i-na)   kuzzu   su    da - na - an
*his son    sat on*       *his throne;*     *the power of*
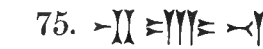
𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 71. 𒀭𒀭
Assur   Sin   Samas   Vul   Bel   Nabu     Istar
*Assur,   Sin,   Shamas,   Vul,   Bel,   Nebo,*     *Ishtar*

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 72. 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
sa   Ninua   Ilu sar - rat Kit -mu- ri    Istar   sa
*of Nineveh, the divine queen of   Kitmuri,*     *Ishtar   of*

𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 73. 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭
Arba- il   Ninip   Nergal   Nusku     Ili   rabati
*Arbela,   Ninip,   Nergal, and Nusku,*     *the great Gods*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
beli     ya   e   mur   va   ik   nu - sa   a   na
*my lords,    he saw,   and    submitted     to*

𒀭 𒀭𒀭 (v. 𒀭𒀭) 𒀭𒀭 74. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
niri    (v. ni - ri)   ya     as -su ba - lad napis- ti su
    *my yoke.*      *To   preserve   his   life*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 75. 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭
ub - na - a su ip   ta - a   u - sal- la - a    bel   u - ti
*his hand (friendship) he offered, and besought*    *my power.*

E - ri - ṣi - in - ni   ablu   ri - du - (v. ridu) - ti
*Erisinni,            his  eldest  son,*

76.  a - na   Ninua   is - pur - av - va   u - na - as - siq
     *to     Nineveh   he  sent,      and    kissed*

sepi  ya        77.  re - e - mu   ar - si su va      a - mir  ya
*my feet.            Favour  I  granted  him,  and    my  messenger*

sa salim - mi       78.  u - ma - hi - ir  ẓiru - (v. ẓi - ru) - us - su
*for friendship          I       sent        to         him.*

bintu   ẓi   it   lib   bi   su       79.  u - se - bi - la   a - na
*The daughter proceeding from his body       he sent for a*

e - pis  sal  tuglu   u   ti       80.  ma - da   at - ta   su
    *concubine.                         The    former*

mah - ri - tu  sa ina   tir - ẓi   ṣarri      abi   ya
*tribute, which in  the  time  of the   kings     my fathers*

81.  u - sab   di - lu   is - su - u - ni  a - di   mah - ri
     *they  had  broken  off,  he  had  brought  to  my  presence.*

(v. mahri) ya   82.  30   susi        eli  ma - da - (at) - ti
*(v mahri) ya       Thirty  horses,          beside  the  former*

su  mah - ri   ti   u   rad   di. va  e - mid (v. mi-iṣ)  ṣu
    *tribute,      I   added   and fixed  upon  him.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINE 16, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 14.

16. [⊢ 𒀭 ⟨⊢ ⊨𒌍 ⊣𒅊⟨ ⊨𒈬 ⟨⊣⊒⟩] 𒁹 ◁⊢𒈠 ⅄ ⊨𒅊 ⊣𒅊⟨
     [Ina ḫamsi   gar - ri   ya      eli]        Aḫ - se - e - ri
     [*In my fifth  expedition       against*]        *Ahseri*

17. [⊨𒍞 ⅄ ⟨⟨ ⊣𒁹𒐂 ⊟𒈨 ⟨] ⊨𒅗 𒑰] 18. ░░░░
     [ṣar      Man - na - ai   lu - u]   al - lik        * * * *
     [*king of     Minni*]          *I went.*           * * * *

✦ 𒀖  19. ░░░░░ ⊣𒆳  20. ░░░░░ [⅄ ⟨⟨] ⊣𒁹𒐂
nu - su       * * * *  ti         * * * *   [Man]- na - ai
*submit(?)*   * * * *  *ti*       * * * *      *Minni*

21. ░░░░░ ⊢𒀭  22. ░░░░░ ⟨𒁹 ⊨𒀭 ⊨𒇲 ⊟𒈨 ✦ ░░░░░
     * * * * Assur      * * * *   di - va as - ku - nu * * *
     * * * * *Assur*     * * *    * *and I had made* * * *

23. 𒁹 ◁⊢𒈠 ⅄ ⊨𒅊 ⊣𒅊⟨ 𒁹 ⊨𒈠 ⊨𒌍 ⊣𒅊⟨ [⊨𒅊 ⊨𒅊 𒁹⊢ ⊨𒅊]
     Aḫ  - se - e - ri   a - lak gar - ri   [ya     is - mi va]
     *Ahseri,   of the progress of* [*my*] *expedition* [*heard, and*]

24. ⊨𒈠 ⊨𒅊 ◁⊢𒁹 ⊨𒅊 ⊨𒅊  [⅄◁𒁹 𒑰]  25. ⊢
     u  - ma - he - e    ra    [umman  su]         ina
         *sent  forth*        [*his army*].     *In the*

⅄ ⅄ ⟨⊢ ⅄𒁹 ⊨𒅊 ▢ ⊣𒆳  26. 𒁹 ⊣𒁹 ⊨𒅊 ⊨𒌍 ⊢𒅊⊢
sat mu  si tan - ni kil  ti      a - na   e - pis    taḫaz
*middle of the night, secretly*      *to*     *make*     *war,*

⊨𒁹 ⅄⊢ [𒈨]  27. 𒑰 ⊣𒁹 ⊢ ⊣𒅗 ⅄⊣𒅗 ⊨𒅊 ⅄◁𒁹 ⊨𒅊
it - bu - [ni]       a - na mit - ḫu   uẓ   ẓi ummani ya
   *they came*         *to*        *fight*       *my army.*

28. ⅄𒁹⊢⊢ ⊢𒅊⊢ ⊨𒅊 ⊨𒁹 ⊣𒆳 𒀖 ⊨𒅊 ◁⊢𒁹 ⊨𒅊 𒑰 [⊢⊣𒑰]
     ẓabi   taḫazi   ya   it - ti su - un   im - da - ḫa - [zu]
     *My men of war,*          *with*    *them*   *fought,*   *and*

                                                            N

29. 𒄑 𒂖 𒉿 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒄑　　　30. 𒁹 𒄑 𒐊 𒉿 𒉿

is - ku - nu　abikta　su - un　　　ma - lak　3　kas - pu

*accomplished their overthrow.*　　*For a space of three kaspu*

𒐊 𒐊 𒀸 [𒀸 𒄑] 𒉿 𒄑 𒌷 𒂖 𒀸 𒄑 𒀸 𒁹

ekal　rag - [mat ṣu] - nu　u - mal - lu - u　ẓer　rap - su

*of*　*ground*　*their slain*　*filled*　*the wide*　*desert.*

31. 𒀭 𒂖 𒄑 𒀸 𒀸 𒐊 𒀸 𒀭 𒀸 𒁹 𒂖 𒁹

ina　ki - bit　Assur　Sin　Samas　Ili　rabati

*By command of Assur,  Sin, and Shamas,　the great Gods*

𒀸 𒁹 𒂖　　　32. 𒄑 𒀸 𒀸 𒂖 𒂖 𒐊 𒈨

beli　ya　　　sa　u - tak - ki - lu　in - ni

*my lords,*　　*who*　*protected*　*me;*

𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒀸 𒐊 𒁹　　33. 𒄑 𒀸 𒄑

ki - rib　Man - na - ai　e - ru - ub va　at - tal - lak

*into*　*Minni*　*I*　*entered*　*and*　*marched*

𒀸 𒁹 𒀭 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒐊 𒐊 𒀸 𒀸 𒂖

sal - dis ina mi　ti - iq　gar - ri　ya　Ai - u - ṣi - as

*victoriously.　In the progress of my expedition,*　*Aiusias*

34. 𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒂖 𒉿 𒀭 𒀸 𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒂖 𒀸

ḥal - ẓu　Pa - sa - * * - ṣu　Bu - ṣu - ut

*the fortress,*　*Pasa  *  *  su*　*Pusut,*

𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒂖

As - di - as　Ur - ki - ya - mu - un　Up - pi - is

*Asdias,*　*Urkiyamun,*　*Uppis,*

𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒀸 𒐊　　　36. 𒂖 𒀸 𒀸 𒐊 𒀸 𒐊𒐊

Ṣi - ḥu - u - a　　　Na - zi - ni - ri　8

*Sihua,*　　*and Naziniri,*　*eight*

𒂖 𒁹 𒂖 𒉿 𒀸　　　37. 𒀸 𒂖 𒐊 𒀸 𒀸 𒄑 𒀸

alani　dan - nu - ti　va　a - di　ẓi　iḥ - ru - ti

*strong cities,*　*and*　*smaller ones*

𒀭 𒊭 𒌋 𒀭 𒀀 𒌋 𒁕 〈    38. 𒇺 〈𒉺 〈𒂊 𒀭

sa   ni - i - ba   la   i - su -u       a - di   ki - rib

**which**    *were*    *without*   *number,*      *to the*    *midst of*

𒀭 𒊭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    39. 𒀭 𒌍 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

I - zir - ti   ak - su -ud     ab - bul  ag - gur ina   isati

*Izirtu*   *I*   *captured,*   *I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire*

𒀭 𒀭    40. 𒀭 𒀭     𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭     𒀭 𒀭

ak - mu        nisi          susi          imiri

*I burned.*    *People,*     *horses,*      *asses,*

𒀭 𒀭     𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    41. 〈𒀭 𒀭 〈𒂊 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

alpi         ẓeni        ul - tu   ki - rib   alani

*oxen,*   *and*    *sheep,*     *from*   *the*   *midst*   *of*   *those*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    42. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

sa - a - tu - nu     u - se - ẓa - av - va sal - la - tis  am - nu

*cities*          *I brought out, and as a spoil I counted.*

43. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

Aḫ -se - e - ri  a - lak  gar - ri   ya    is -mi va

*Aḣseri of the progress of my expedition*    *heard, and*

44. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

u - vas - ser       I - zir - tu   alu   ṣaru - ti   su

*abandoned*         *Izirtu,*    *his royal city.*

45. 𒇺 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒇺 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

a - na     Ad ra - a - na  alu tugul- ti su   in - na - bit

*To*      *Adrana, his castle,*       *he fled,*

46. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 〈𒂊 𒀭    𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

e - ḫu - uz   mar - ki - tu     I - zir - tu

*and*    *took*    *refuge.*        *Izirtu,*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    47. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒇺 𒀭
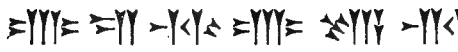
Ur - mi - ya - te       Uz - bi  a   alani

*Urmiyate;*   *and*       *Uzbia,*    *his*

dan - nu ti su al - mi
*fortified cities, I surrounded,*

48. nisi a - si - bu - ti
*the people dwelling in*

alani sa - a - tu - nu
*those cities*

49. e - si - ir va nap - sat su - nu
*I besieged, and their spirits*

u - si - iq u - tir - ri
*I humbled, and caused to melt away.*

50. na gu - u su - a - tu
*That district I*

ak - su - ud ab - bul ag - gur ina isati ak - mu
*took, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned.*

51. ma - lak 10 im - mi 5 im - mi u - sah - ri - ib va
*For fifteen days journey I laid waste, and*

sa - qu - um - ma - tu
*the highlands*

52. ad - bu - uq ina mi - ti - iq
*I conquered. In the progress of*

gar - ri ya alani sa li - mi - it Pad - di - ri
*my expedition, the cities which were near Paddiri,*

53. sa ina tir - zi sarri abi ya
*which in the time of the kings my fathers*

Man - na - ai e - ki - mu
*the Mannians had taken,*

54. a - na (i - di)
*and to their own*

ra - ma - ni su - nu u - tir - ru
*(hands) had restored;*

55. ak su - ud ina
*I captured, in the*

isati    ak -mu as - lu - la sal - la - ṣun     56. alani
*fire I burned    and carried off their spoil.     Those*

sa- a- tu - nu a - na me - ṣir    Assur    u - tir - (ra)
*cities to the boundaries of    Assyria    I restored.*

57. na - gu - u sa    Ar - ṣi - ya - ni - is    58. sa
*The district of    Arsiyanis,    which*

bi - rit    A - ya- qa - na - ni    59. sa    Ḫa- ar - ṣi
*bounded    Azaqanani    of    Harsi,*

sa - di - i    60. sa ris    Ku-mu- ur- da - ai sa
*the mountain    which is at the top of    Kumurda,    in the*

ki - rib    Man - na - ai    61. aṣ - pu un in isati
*midst of    Minni    I destroyed, and in the fire*

ak -mu    Ra - ai - di - sa- di - i    rab- ḫal- ẓu su - nu
*I burned,    Raidisadi    commander of their fortresses*

a- duk    62. as - lu - la sal-lat (v. la) ṣu    63. na - gu - u
*I killed,    I carried off his spoil.    The district*

sa    E - ri - is (v. iṣ) te - ya - na    64. ak - su - ud
*of    Eristeyana    I captured,*

alani su aṣ - pu - un    65. ina isati ak - mu
*its cities I destroyed,    and in the fire I burned;*

as - lu - la   sal - lat   su
*I carried    off its spoil.*

66.   ina   ti - ib   tahazi   ya
*By the shock of    my army,*

na - gu su   u - sah - rib
*that district I   laid   waste,*

67.   u - za - ah - hi - ir
*I   reduced   the*

nap - har mati su
*whole of his country.*

68.   it - ti   hu - ub - ti   ma - ha - di
*With      much plunder,*

69.   ta - mir - ti   ka - bit - ti   sal - mis   a - tu - ra
*and   numerous   gifts,   peacefully   I   returned,*

70.   ak - bu - sa me - sir    Assur
*and marched across the borders of Assyria.*

71.   [Bi(?)] - ru - a
*Birua(?),*

Saru - ig - bi
*Saruigbi,*

72.   Gu - su - ne - e
*Gusune,*

[Bi] - ru - u - te
*and Birute(?),*

73.   alani   li - [mi - it]
*cities   near*
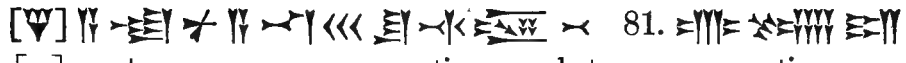
Assur
*Assyria,*

74.   sa ina   tir - zi   sarri   abi   ya
*which in the   time   of the   kings   my fathers*

75.   e - ki - mu   Man - na - ai
*were captured by the Mannians,*

76.   da - rum - mi sa - a - tu - nu
*those    districts*

ak - su - ud
*I   took.*

77.   Man - na - ai   ul - tu   lib - bi   as - suh
*The Mannians, from   the   midst   I   removed,*
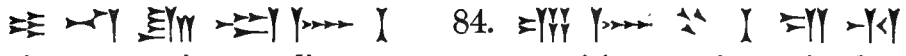
78. 〔cuneiform〕
susi     bat- li u -nu-tu tahazi
*the horses*    *and their instruments of war*

〔cuneiform〕 79. 〔cuneiform〕 80. 〔cuneiform〕
su-nu   as- lu- la a- na  Assur    alani
    *I carried off to*  *Assyria.*  *Those*

〔cuneiform〕 81. 〔cuneiform〕
[sa]-a- tu -nu a- na es - su - ti az -bat  u - tir - ra
*cities a second time I took,  and restored*
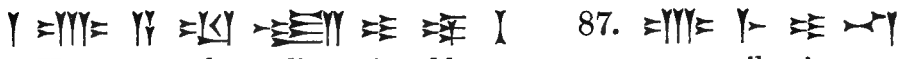
〔cuneiform〕 82. 〔cuneiform〕
a - na me - sir  Assur    Ah -se- e - ri
*to the boundaries of Assyria.*    *Ahseri,*

〔cuneiform〕 83. 〔cuneiform〕
la pa lah bilu- ti ya  [a -mat] Istar im -nu su
*not fearing my power,  [the will] of Ishtar delivered*

〔cuneiform〕 84. 〔cuneiform〕
i - na qati ardi su   nisi mati su si - hu
*him into the hands of his servants. The people of his country a revolt*

〔cuneiform〕 85. 〔cuneiform〕
eli su u - sab -su-u   ina suqi alu su
*against him made, and  in front of his city*

〔cuneiform〕 86. 〔cuneiform〕
sa- lam - ta su id - du- u pagar su   arku
*his attendants threw his corpse.  Afterwards*

〔cuneiform〕 87. 〔cuneiform〕
Va - a al - li - i ablu su   u -sib i - na
  *Vaalli   his son   sat on*

〔cuneiform〕 88. 〔cuneiform〕
kuzzu su  da - na - an Assur Sin Samas Bel
*his throne. The power of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel,*

89. 〔cuneiform〕

Nabu    Istar  sa  Ninua  Istar  sa Arba- il

*Nebo,    Ishtar  of  Nineveh,  Ishtar  of  Arbela,*

90. 〔cuneiform〕

Ninip  Nusku  Nergal      Ili  rabati  beli  ya

*Ninip,  Nasku, and Nergal,     the  great  Gods  my lords,*

91. 〔cuneiform〕

e - mur  va      ik - nu - sa  a - na    niri    ya

*he saw; and     submitted  to    my yoke.*

92. 〔cuneiform〕

as -su  ba -lad napis - ti  su  ub - na - a su ip - ta - a

*To  preserve  his  life,  he  offered  his  hand,*

93. 〔cuneiform〕  94. 〔cuneiform〕

u - zal - la - a bel - u - ti    E - ri - ṣi - in - ni

*and submitted to my dominion.    Erisinni*

ablu ridu - ti su  95.  a - na  Ninua  is  pur - av - va

*his eldest son,    to  Nineveh  he  sent,  and*

u - na - as -siq sepi ya  96.  re - e -mu  ar - si su

*kissed  my feet.    Favour  I granted him,*

va  97.  a - mir ya sa salim - mi u -ma- hi - ir

*and  my messenger for an  alliance  I  sent*

ẓi - ru - us -su  .  98.  bintu  ẓi - it  lib bi su

*to him.    The daughter proceeding from his body,*

u  se - bi - la  a - na  e - pis  sal  tuglu  u  ti

*he  sent    for  a  concubine.*

99. �targe𒈠 ma - da - at   ta   su maḫ   ri - tu sa ina   tir - ẓi
    *The*      *former*    *tribute,*    *which*  *in*  *the*  *time of*

ṣarri     abi     ya         100.   u - sab - di - lu
*the kings*  *my fathers,*        *they had broken off:*

is - su -u- ni a- di   maḫ- ri   ya    101.  30     susi
*he had brought to my presence.*    *Thirty*   *horses,*

eli   ma- da - (at) - ti  su maḫ   ri - ti   u - rad - di va
*beside*  *the*    *former*   *tribute,*   *I*   *added*   *and*

102.  e -mid ṣu ina im- mi su va  Bi - ri - iz - ḫa - ad - ri
      *fixed on him.  In those days also,*    *Biriz-hadri*

niru    sa Mad- ai
*a chief*  *of*  *Media,*


COLUMN IV.

1.  Ṣar  a - ti    Pa   ri   za   a    abli
    *Sariti*   *and*    *Pariza,*    *sons of*

Ga   (a)   gi    2.  niru    Ṣa - ḫi sa iz- lu -u
  *Gog,*    *a chief of the Saka (Scythians) who had thrown off*

niri  belu- ti  ya    3.  75   alani   su-nu dan-nu- ti
*the yoke of my dominion,*    *seventy-five of their strong cities*

ak su-ud as-lu-la sal-lat ṣun
*I took, I carried off their spoil:*

4. sa-a-tu-nu
*themselves*

bal-ḍu-ṣu-nu ina qati aẓ-bat
*alive,     in hand I took,*

5. u-bi-la ana
*and brought to*

Ninua alu bel-u-ti ya
*Nineveh,  the city of my dominion.*

6. Ilu-da-ri-a
*Iludaria*

sanut (v. tur-ta-nu) Lu-ub-di
*prefect  (v. tartan)  of Lubdu,*

7. sa
*who*

a-na ka-sa-ad Ub-bu-um-mi va
*to    capture    Ubbummi  and*

Kul-li-im-mi-ri
*Kullimmir,*

8. ir-da-a
*descended*

il li ka ki-rib mu-si-ti
*and went in  the  night.*

9. nisi
*The people*

a-si-bu ti Kul-li-im-mi-ri
*dwelling  in   Kullimmir,*

10. ardi
*tributaries,*

da-gil pa-ni ya
*dependent on me;*

11. ina sat mu-si di-ik-ta su
*in the middle of the night his*

ma-ha-aṣ ṣu i du-ku
*numerous army slew,*

12. la ez-zi bu
*and there was not*

𒀀𒄿 - um - ma　　13.　qaq - du　Ilu - da - ri - a
*left anyone.*　　　　　*The head of*　　*Iludaria*

ik - ki - ṣu - niv - va　　14.　a - na　Ninua
*they cut off, and*　　　　*to.*　　*Nineveh,*

maḫ - ri　ya　u - bil - u - ni
*before me, they brought.*

The differences between the texts of Cylinders A and B regarding this expedition principally rise from Cylinder B giving a more minute account of the events, and supplying some points omitted on Cylinder A. It appears from Cylinder B that the principal battle with the Mannians was fought before Assurbanipal went in person to Minni. After the victory of his generals, Assurbanipal himself entered Minni, and ravaged the country. The details of the restoration of territory to Assyria, the conquest of the Median chief Birizḫadri, and the sons of Gagi the Sakhian or Scythian, and the defeat and death of Iludari; are additions in Cylinder B. Gagi resembles the גוג of Ezekiel. The city of Lubdu, of which Iludaria was governor, revolted once before in the reign of Shalmaneser II, in B.C. 820.

# PART VII.

*The War with Urtaki, King of Elam.*

### TEXTS.

The texts of the war with Urtaki are Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 15 to 83, and a fragment of a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 1139.

#### CYLINDER B, COLUMN IV, LINES 15 TO 83.

15.  Ina gar - ri ya eli Ur - ta - ki
*In my sixth expedition, against Urtaki*
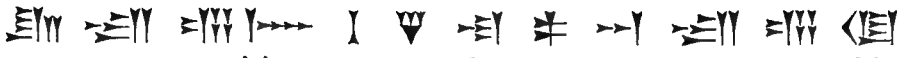
ṣar Elam 16. lu - u al - lik ṣa dabtu abi
*king of Elam, I went; who the benefits of the father*

bani ya la ḥa - aṣ - ṣu 17. la iẓ ẓu - ru
*my begetter disregarded, and had not heeded*
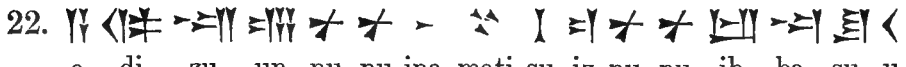
ip - ru ti ul -tu ina Elam 18. ṣu - un - qu
*the famine. When in Elam a drought*

is -ku-nu ib ba -su-u- ni ip - ri - tu 19. miri
*took place, there was a famine. Corn*

ba -laḏ napis- ti nisi u - se- bil su va 20. aẓ -bat
*to preserve the lives of the people, I sent him, and took*

𒀭𒈨𒅆𒊏 𒐕 𒀀 𒂵𒌋 𒈨𒈾 𒀀𒊺 𒀭𒈨𒅆𒊏 𒆠𒂊
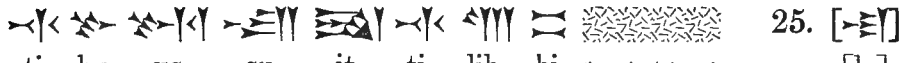
qat  ṣu   nisi   su  sa  la  pa  an  ṣu - un - ki

*his hand.  His people, who from the face of the drought*

21. 𒈨𒅆 𒌋𒐊 𒅆𒊏 𒀭 𒌋𒐊 𒈨𒀀 𒀭𒈨 𒀭 𒈨𒅆𒊏 𒀭𒈨 𒐊 𒈨 𒆠𒂊

in -nab tu -u- niv -va  u - si -bu  ki - rib   Assur

*fled,          and      dwelt     in      Assyria,*

22. 𒐊 𒆠𒂊 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆𒊏 𒐊 𒐊 𒐕 𒈨 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆 𒆠
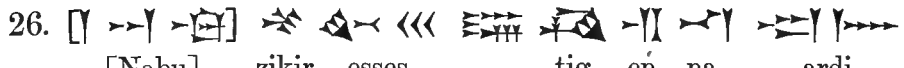
a - di   zu - un -nu- nu ina mati su iz-nu- nu  ib - ba - su - u

*until  the rain  in  his  country rained,  and   there  were*

𒈨𒅆𒐊       23. 𒈨𒅆𒊏 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒅆𒊏 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒅆𒐊
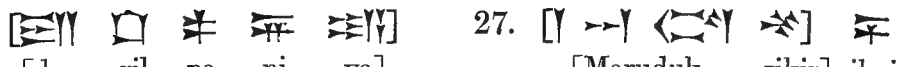
sibirru          nisi    sa - a   tu - nu  sa ina mati ya

*crops :*          *those people,*          *who in my country*

𒈨𒅆 𒆠𒂊 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆𒊏 𒐊 𒈨𒅆 𒐕 𒐊    24. 𒈨𒅆 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
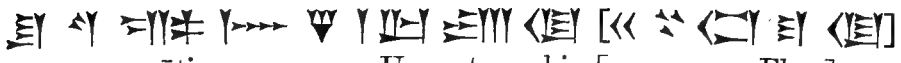
ib - lu - ḍu  u -se- bil  su va          Elam - ai  sa

*were preserved, I sent to him, and*          *the Elamite ; who*

𒀭𒆠 𒐊 𒐊𒆠 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆 𒀭𒆠 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒐊 ▨▨▨    25. [𒈨𒅆]

ti - bu - uṣ - ṣu   it - ti  lib - bi * * * *     [la]

*his    invasion,   with   heart * * * *   [did not]*

𒐊𒐊 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆 𒆠𒂊 𒈨𒅆 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 [𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒅆𒐊𒐊]

ḫa - aṣ - ṣa ku - ẓi - lat . ṣu  Bel - ba - sa  [Gam- bu- la - ai]

*regard  his  good.*      *Belbasa  the  [Gambulian,]*

26. [𒐕 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆] 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒈨𒅆 𒐊𒐊 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆 𒆠𒂊

[Nabu]  -zikir- esses          tig - en - na      ardi

*[Nebo] zikiresses*          *the tigenna      tributaries*

𒈨𒅆 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒅆]    27. [𒐕 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆 𒐊] 𒐊

[da - gil  pa - ni  ya]          [Maruduk  - zikir]-ibni

*[dependent on me,]*          *[Merodach zikir]ibni*

𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒅆 𒆠𒂊 𒐊 𒐕 𒈨𒅆 𒈨𒅆 𒆠𒂊 [𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒆠𒂊]

ummāti      sa  Ur - ta - ki [sar      Elam]

*general      of   Urtaki  [king of     Elam,]*

28. [𒀸𒅗 𒁹 𒀀 𒈠𒐊 𒂍] 𒀀 𒀝 𒀸 𒄀 𒁹 𒄿 𒀝𒐊 𒈨𒐊

[it - ti su - nu is - ku] - nu pi - i su ana mit - ḫu - ẓi

[with    them]    had    set    his    face;    to    make    war    on

𒀭 𒂍𒊩 𒂍 ░░░░░░░░░░░░░░░░        29. ░░░░░░░░░░░░░░░ 𒀸

Akkad    *  *  *  *  *  *         *  *  *  *  *  *  va

*Akkad.*   *  *  *  *  *  *        *  *  *  *  *  *and*

𒀸𒁹 𒂍 𒀸 𒈨 ░░░░░░░ 𒀭 𒂍 𒂍 𒂍        30. ░░░░░░░

id - ku - u - ni  *  *  *  *    Elam       *  *  *  *  *

*had gathered*  *  *  *  *    *Elam*     *  *  *  *  *

𒄭 𒐊 𒁹   31. ░░░░░░░   𒀸𒁹 𒀀𒂍 𒐊   32. 𒀀𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒁹

ak - ru - su    *  *  *  *  *   id - ka - a     qa - bal su

*  *  *  *    *  *  *  *    *gathered*     *within*    *it*

░░░░░░ [𒉿] 𒀸𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒀸𒐊   33. 𒐊 ░░░░░░

*  *  *  *  *   ur - ri - ḫa ta - ḫa - zu     a  *  *  *  *  *

*  *  *  *  *    *he set about fighting.*    *  *  *  *  *  *

𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒐊 (v. 𒀸𒐊) 𒂍𒐊   34. 𒂍𒐊 ░░░░░░ 𒀸𒐊 𒉿 𒀸 𒂍𒐊

a - tu - me (v. tum) - e     sa  *  *  *  *  *    il - lik av - va

*I was alarmed(?).*     *  *  *  *  *  *    *he came and*

35. 𒀸𒐊 𒂍 ░░░░░░░░░░░░        36. 𒂍 𒀸 𒀸𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊

ul as  *  *  *  *  *  *        su - par nisi   ẓirai

*  *  *  *  *  *  *  *  *    *concerning the men of the desert*

𒀸 ░░░░░░░░░░        37. 𒀸𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒀸 𒀸 𒂍𒐊 ░░░░░░░░

va  *  *  *  *  *       is - ta - nap - pa - ra   *  *  *  *

*and*  *  *  *  *       *he    sent*    *  *  *  *  *

38. 𒐊 𒀸𒐊 𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒂍𒐊 ░░░░░░        39. 𒂍𒐊 𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒂍𒐊

a - na a - mar ṣar  *  *  *  *       a - mir ya

*to see the king of*  *  *  *  *       *my envoy*

𒂍𒐊 𒂍 𒀸𒐊 [𒂍𒐊] 𒂍𒐊 𒂍        40. 𒀸𒐊 𒉿 𒀸 𒀸𒐊 [𒉿] 𒂍

u - ma - hi - [ir as] - pur va     il - lik i - tu - [ur] va

*I commanded, I sent, and*     *he went. He returned, and*

41. [cuneiform]
ha-an-a-ti   ka-ai-ma-[nu va]
*this   was   confirmed,   and*

42. [cuneiform]
u-sa-an-na-a
*he repeated to*

[cuneiform]
ya-[a-ti]
*me,*

43. [cuneiform]
um-ma
*thus:*

[cuneiform]
E-la-mu-u   kima
*"The Elamites   like*

[cuneiform]
ti-bu-ut   aribi
*a   flight   of locusts,*

44. [cuneiform]
ka-tim   Akkad
*overspreading   Akkad*

[cuneiform]
ka-ti-im(?)   sa   zi-ir   Bab-ili
*cover(?),   over against   Babylon*

45. [cuneiform]
us-man-nu sa-kin va   na-di   ma-dak-tu a-na
*the   camp   is fixed   and fortifications   are raised."   To*

[cuneiform]
na-ra-ru-ti
*the aid of*

46. [cuneiform]
Bel   va   Nabu   Il (v. bel)-i   ya
*Bel and Nebo, my Gods (v. lords)*

[cuneiform]
su   ap-tal-la-hu Ilu-us-su-un
*whom,   I worshipped   their divinity:*

47. [cuneiform]
zabi   tahaz   ya
*my men of war*
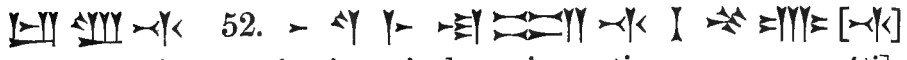
[cuneiform]
ad-ke-e va   az   ba-ta   mur   ra-nu
*I gathered, and   I   took   the   march.*

48. [cuneiform]
a   lak
*The progress of*

[cuneiform]
gar-ri   ya   is-mi va hat-tu   is   hup   su va
*my expedition he heard, and fear overwhelmed him, and*

49. [cuneiform]
i-tur
*he returned*
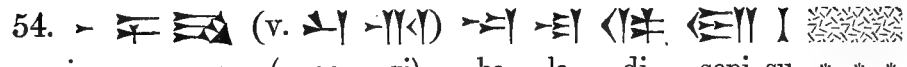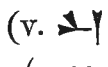
[cuneiform]
ana mati su arku   su   az-bat a-bi-ik-ta   su as-kun
*to his country. After him I took [the road], his overthrow I accomplished,*
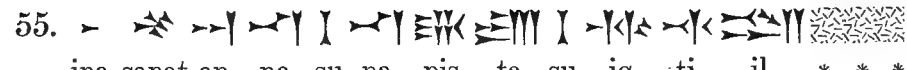
50. [cuneiform]
ad - ru - uṣ   ṣu   a   di   me - ṣir   mati su
*and   drove   him   to   the   frontier   of   his   country.*
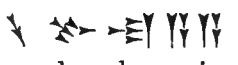
51. [cuneiform]
Ur - ta - ki   ṣar     Elam    sa   la iẓ - ẓu - ru
*Urtaki    king of    Elam,   who had not   heeded*

[cuneiform] 52. [cuneiform]
ip - ru - ti    ina im - mi   la   sim - ti su mu- u - [ti]
*the famine;    in   the   day   of   his   misfortune,   death*
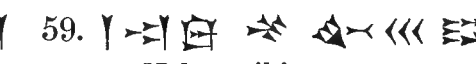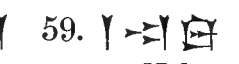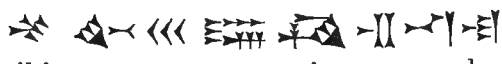
[cuneiform] 53. [cuneiform]
* * * * *    ina ta - ni - ḫi   ik - tu - u   i   * * *
*[desired(?)]    In lamentation,    he beat    * * ***
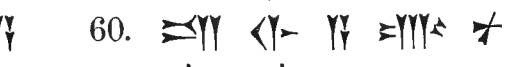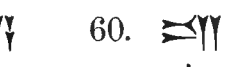
54. [cuneiform]
ina qaq - qar   (v. qa - ri)   ba - la - di   sepi su * * *
*on the level              ground,    his feet * * ***
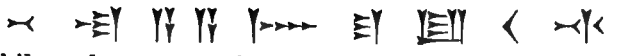
55. [cuneiform]
ina sanat an - na   su na - pis - ta   su   iq - ti - il   * * *
*In   that   year,   his   life   he   destroyed   * * ***
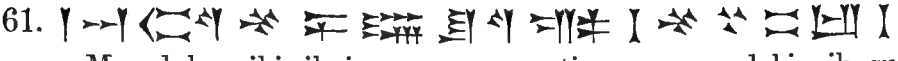
56. [cuneiform] 57. [cuneiform]
Bel - ba - sa    Gam - bu - la   ai    sa iz - lu -u
*Belbasa    the    Gambulian,    who had thrown off*
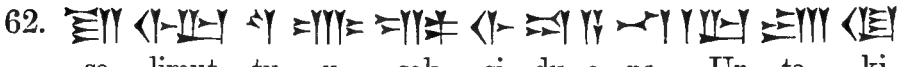
[cuneiform] 58. [cuneiform]
niru   belu - ti   ya    ina ni - sik kisti   is   ta - kan
*the yoke of my dominion,    hiding in concealment, he passed*
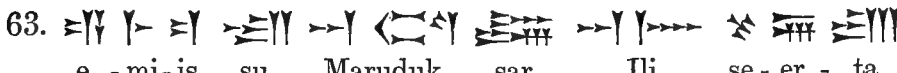
[cuneiform] 59. [cuneiform]
na - pis - tu    Nabu - zikir - esses    tig - en - na la
*his life.    Nebozikiresses    the   tigenna,   not*

[cuneiform] 60. [cuneiform]
na - ẓir   a - de - e    is   si   a   ga - nu
*keeping   the   covenant,    was overthrown by the*
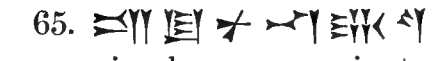
   bil - la -   ai   ma  lu - u  ti    (v.  maluti)

*lords   strong   and   mighty.*
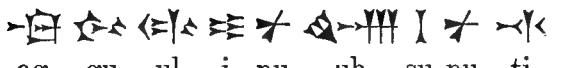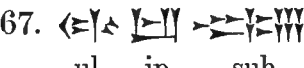
61. Maruduk -zikir-ibni     ummati  su mu-sad-bi ib su

    *Merodachzikiribni      his general,  his  adviser,*
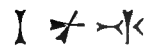
62. sa  limut - tu  u - sak - si - du a - na  Ur- ta - ki

    *who,  evil  caused  to  happen  to   Urtaki:*
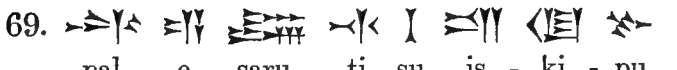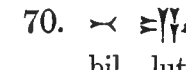
63. e - mi - iş  şu  Maruduk  şar  Ili  se - er - ta

    *Merodach king of the Gods, fixed on him his great*
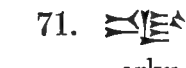
su rab-tu    64.  ina he - ed  sanat an - na  me - eh - rit

*fear.*         *For  one  year  in  presence  of  each*

a - ha - mis    65. is - ku - nu na - pis - tu   66. lib - bi Assur

*other,*     *they passed their lives.*   *The heart of Assur*

ag - gu  ul i - nu - uh  su - nu - ti    67. ul  ip  suh

*vengeful, let them not rest, and*   *did not spare*

su - nu - ti   68. ka - bat- ti  Istar  sa  u - tag - gil an - ni

*them.*   *The mighty Goddess who protected me,*

69. pal  e  şaru - ti su is - ki - pu   70. bil - lut

    *the time of his kingdom ended, and*   *the dominion*

    Elam  u - raq- qu - u sa - num - ma   71. arku

    *of Elam  passed  to  another.*   *Afterwards*

P

Te - um -man tam-sil gal - lu
*Teumman like an evil spirit,*

72.
u -sib ina kuzzu
*sat on the throne of*

Ur - ta - ki
*Urtaki;*

73.
a - na da - a - ki abli
*to slay the sons of*

Ur - ta - ki
*Urtaki,*

74.
va abli Um -man- al - da -a-se
*and the sons of Ummanaldas*

75.
aḫu Ur - ta - ki is - te - ni - ha - a limut
*the brother of Urtaki, he devised evil.*

76.
Um -man- i -gas Um -man- ap -pa Tam - ma- ri - tu
*Ummanigas, Ummanappa and Tammarit,*

77.
abli Ur - ta - ki ṣar Elam
*sons of Urtaki king of Elam,*

78.
Ku-dur- ru Pa - ru - u abli Um-man- al - da -se
*Kudurru and Paru, sons of Ummanaldas,*

79.
ṣar a - lik pa - ni Ur - ta - ki
*the king preceding Urtaki,*

80.
va 60
*and sixty of*

ziri ṣarri ina la mi ni zabi mitpanu
*the seed royal, innumerable bow-men*

81.
abli
*and children*

ba - ne - e sa Elam
*begotten in Elam;*

82.
sa la pa - an da - a- ki
*who from the face of the massacre*

𒁹 𒈨 𒈠 𒌋𒌋 𒀀𒄷 𒀀𒁀 𒋢𒉡     83. 𒅔 𒈾𒀊 𒌅 𒌋 �niv �updated
Te - um -man aḫu abu su -nu        in -nab- tu -u- niv -va
*of  Teumman  their   uncle;*        *fled,   and   took*
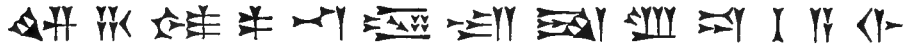
𒄑 𒁀 𒌅 𒉌𒊒 𒍝𒊒 𒋾 𒅀
iẓ - ba  tu  niru  ṣaru  ti  ya
*the         yoke  of  my  kingdom.*
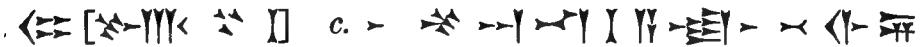
EXTRACT FROM K, 2867, VARIANT PASSAGE FOR CYLINDER B,
COLUMN IV, LINES 30 TO 70.

*a.* 𒄿 𒁺 𒉡 𒁺 �ni 𒀉 𒋾 𒌴 �look 𒄿
I - di -nu  de - e -ni  it -ṭi   Ur- ta - ki
*They  delivered  judgment   against   Urtaki*

𒊬 𒡁 𒉏 𒂊𒇻 𒀸 𒇲 𒀕 𒋢 𒅂 𒊏 𒀭 𒉌
ṣar     Elam    sa  la  ag - ru -u su  ig - ra  an -ni
*king of Elam; who [when] I did not make war with him, made war*
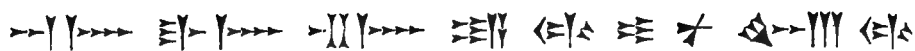
░░░   *b.* 𒂊 �ni 𒈬 𒌋 𒀀  abikta  su  is  ku -nu
* * *       ke - e -mu -u a  abikta  su  is  ku -nu
*with me * *  For  me, his  overthrow  they  accomplished,*

𒌈 𒄩 𒍪 𒉺 𒈾 𒀸 𒍪   id 𒊒 𒁺 𒋢 𒀀 𒁲
im -ḫa - ẓu  pa -na - aṣ - ẓu   id - ru -du  su  a - di
*struck  him  in  the  face,  and   drove   him  to  the*

𒈨 [𒍣𒅕 𒈣 𒋢]  *c.* 𒀸  sanat  an 𒈾 𒋢 𒀀 𒌅  ina mit-pan-ni
me - [ṣir  mati su]  ina sanat an - na  su -a - tu ina mit-pan-ni
*frontier of [his country]. In  that  year,  with  a  bow(?)  they*
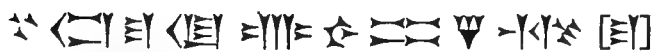
𒌋 𒄩𒇷 𒇻 𒆥 nap -sat  ṣu  ip 𒆠 𒁺 𒋢 𒀀 𒈾
u -ḫal - li - qu  nap -sat  ṣu  ip - ki -du su a - na
*destroyed  his  life,      and   they  sent  him  to*

mat-nu 𒁲 𒀀 𒀀 sar  la  ░░░   *d.* 𒇷 �bi
mat-nu - de - a  a   sar  la  * * * *      lib - bi
*Hades,  the place  none  [return  from].   The hearts of the*
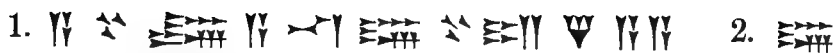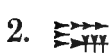
Ili        rabati      beli       ya      ul     i - nu - uḫ      ul
*great    Gods     my    lords,          did not     rest,         did not*
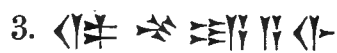
ip -    suḫ     sa   e - zu - zu     ka -bat- ti  belu- ti  su    * * *
*spare.     The strong and mighty one,      his   dominion         * * **

e.        ṣar - uṣ     ṣu    is - ki -pu   pal  su   e - ki -mu  bil- lut
*his   kingdom   ended, and  his  days  took  away.     The dominion*

Elam           u -raq- qu   sa - num -[ma]
*of   Elam          passed    to    another.*
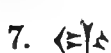
## K, 1139.

1.          A -mat  ṣaru   a - na   nisi      Ra - sa - ai           2.        nisi
*The will of the king, to the men of      Rasa,            the sea*

tamti     va  Ne - ru   u - ti        3.       salim- mi  ya - a - si
*coast    and the     Neruti.              My     salutation*
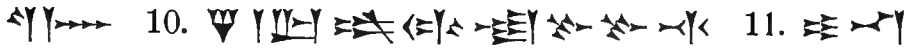
lib - ba  ku - nu     4.       lu - u  dabtu  ku -nu- si  me - nam -ma
*to your hearts,         may  benefits  to  you  be  counted.*
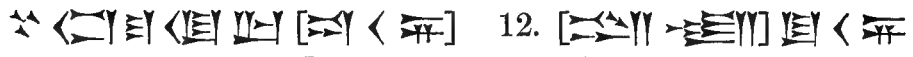
5.       a - na -ku   i - na    ra - a - me   sa          Elam
*I            in the     prosperity  [of         Elam*

6.       a - ra - am   en  dabti  ya  va  bilu  ti  ya      7.       ul
*rejoiced,    my    good,    and    my    dominion,            they*
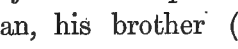
𒀀𒁀𒄷 ... 8. ...
u - ba - hu   a - na gab- bi dabtu        e - bu   us - u   su - nu
*did  not  seek.   For  all  the good            done   to    them,*

... 9. ...
li - mut - ti          e - ep - su - u · ni   re - es - su ina
*evil*                 *they   committed.    First,  in the*

... 10. ... 11. ...
immi        sa   Ur - tak   ul - tu   bu - bu · ti        i - na
*days       of   Urtak;   from   the   famine*            *in*

... 12. ...
Elam        ur [du -u- ni]              [il - li]  -ku-u- ni
*Elam   they   descended(?)*            *and      went*

...
a - na          [Assur]    * * * *
*to*            [*Assyria*]    * * * *

This war with Urtaki, commenced a series of contests with Elam, which extended through a large part of the reign of Assurbanipal. During the reign of Esarhaddon Ummanaldas I, king of Elam, died, and was succeeded by his brother Urtaki or Urtak, called on K, 1541, ... Ur-ta-gu; who was on friendly terms with Esarhaddon. Some time after the accession of Assurbanipal and his brother Saulmugina, Assurbanipal befriended the Elamite monarch during a famine, and afterwards Urtaki disregarding this allowed his general Merodachzikiribni to' persuade him into an invasion of Babylonia; where, after ravaging the country, he was repulsed by Assurbanipal. On his death within a year of this event Teumman, his brother (called on K, 1009, ... Tu-ummau), ascended the Elamite throne. Fearing Teumman would murder them, to secure the succession to the throne for his own sons; the two sons of Ummanaldas, and three sons of Urtaki, with a numerous body of adherents, fled to Assyria.
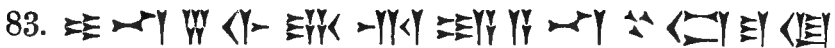
# PART VIII.

*The War with Teumman King of Elam, and the Conquest of Gambuli.*
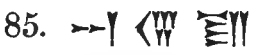
### TEXTS.
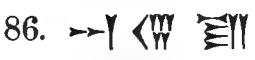
The texts relating to this expedition are Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 83, to col. iv, line 5; Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 84, to col. vi, line 92; an extract from K, 2652; and a series of epigraphs placed over the sculptured scenes representing this war.
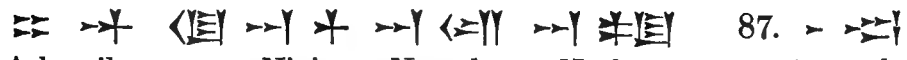
CYLINDER A, COLUMN III, LINE 83, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 5.
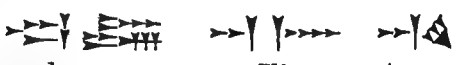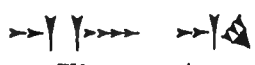
83. 𒄿 𒈾 𒄵 𒃸 𒊑 𒅀 𒀀 𒈾          Elam
I - na   ḫamsi gar - ri   ya   a - na          Elam
*In   my   fifth   expedition,          to          Elam*
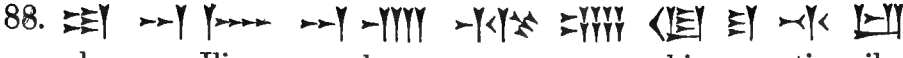
us - te - es - se - ra          mur - ra - nu ina   ki - bit   Assur
*I   directed   the*          *march.   By the command of Assur,*

Sin      Samas      Vul      Bel      Nabu          Istar      sa
*Sin,      Shamas,      Vul,      Bel,      Nebo,*          *Ishtar      of*
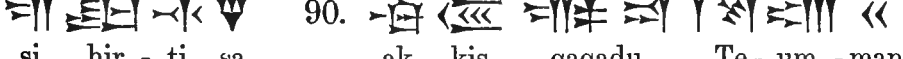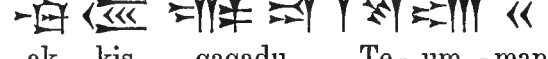
Ninua      Il      ṣar - rat   kit - mu - ri          Istar      sa
*Nineveh,   the divine queen of Kitmuri,*          *Isthar      of*
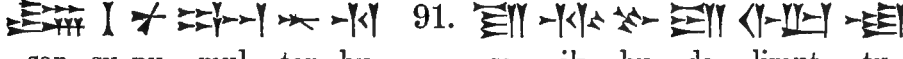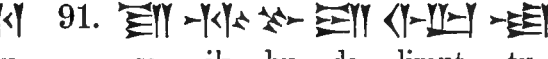
Arba- il          Ninip      Nergal      Nusku          ina araḫ
*Arbela,          Ninip,      Nergal and Nusku;          in the month*
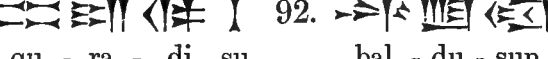
Ululu          araḫ   ṣar          Ili      Assur
*Elul,*          *the month of the king of the Gods,      Assur,*
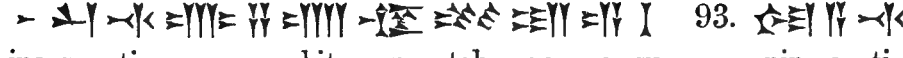
88. abu    Ili    rubu    nan - nur    ki - ma    ti    ib

*the father of the Gods,  the  glorious  prince:    like the shock of a*

mi-ḫe- e    iz- zi    89. ak - tum    Elam    a - na

*terrible  storm,    I  overwhelmed    Elam,    through*
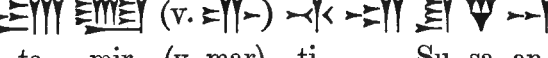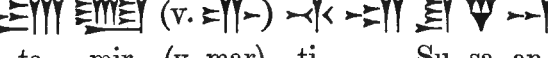
ṣi    ḫir - ti    sa    90. ak - kiṣ    qaqadu    Te - um - man

*its  extent.    I  cut  off  the  head  of    Teumman,*

ṣar    su-nu    mul - tar - ḫu    91. sa    ik - bu - da    limut - tu

*their  wicked  king;    who    devised    evil.*

ina    la    mi - ni    a - duk    qu - ra - di    su    92. bal - ḍu - ṣun

*Beyond    number    I    slew    his    soldiers;    alive*

ina    qa - ti    u - ẓa - bit    mun - taḫ - ẕe - e    su    93. nin - a - ti

*in  hand,  I  captured  his  fighting  men.    Their*

su - nu    ki    ma    mitpani    va    iz - u - kir

*wives,    like    bows    and    arrows(?),*
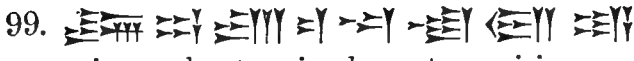
94. u - ma - al - la - a    ta - mir    (v. mar)    ti    Su - sa - an

*filled    the    vicinity    of    Shushan.*

95. pagari    su - nu    U - la - ai    u - sar    di

*Their    corpses    the    Ulai,    I    caused    to    take,*
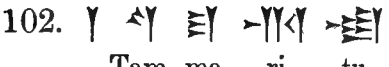
96. me    sa    az - ru - [ub - ki] - ma    na - ba - aṣ - ṣi

*its  waters  I    made    to    consume    like    chaff(?).*
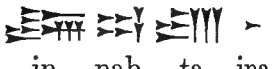
97. [cuneiform]
Um -man- i -gas ablu  Ur- ta - ki   ṣar      Elam
*Ummanigas    son of    Urtaki,   king of     Elam,*

98. [cuneiform]
sa   la   pa- an    Te- um -man  a - na        Assur
*who from the face of    Teumman      to        Assyria*
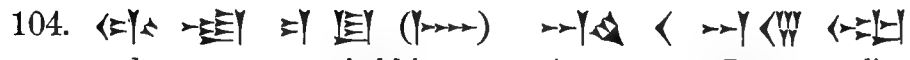
99. [cuneiform]   100. [cuneiform]
in -nab- ta  iz- ba - tu   niri   ya         it - ti
*fled,   and   had   taken   my yoke;        with*
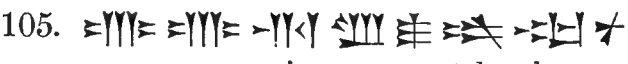
[cuneiform]   101. [cuneiform]
ya    u - bil  su a - na        Elam            u  -se- sib
*me    I   brought   him   to   Elam.          I seated*

[cuneiform]   102. [cuneiform]
su ina   kuzzu    Te- um -man          Tam-ma- ri - tu
*him on the throne of   Teumman.          Tammarit*

[cuneiform]   103. [cuneiform]
aḫu   su sal-sa- ai   sa   it - ti  su       in -nab- ta  ina
*his  third  brother,  who  with   him             fled;    in*
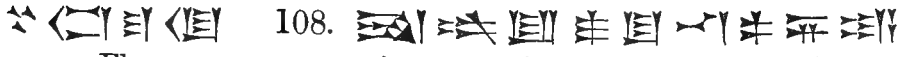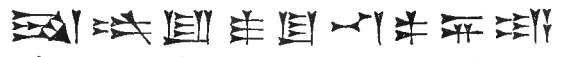
[cuneiform]
Ḥi - da   lu   as- kun   su  a - na   ṣar   u   ti
*Hidalu     I   appointed    to   the    kingdom.*
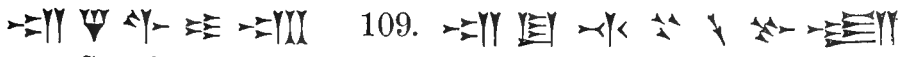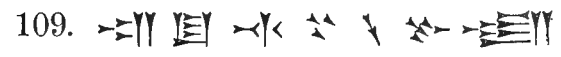
104. [cuneiform]
ul - tu         kakki      Assur  va   Istar     eli
*Then    the    servants of    Assur and  Ishtar,    over*
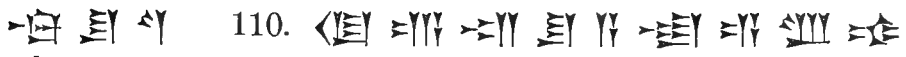
[cuneiform]   105. [cuneiform]
Elam              u  - sam   ri - ru  as- tak- ka -nu
*Elam              I  caused  to  march;  I  acquired*
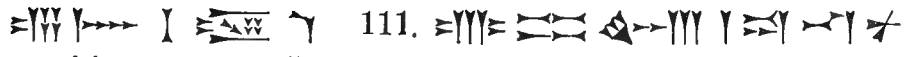
[cuneiform]   106. [cuneiform]
da - na- nu      va   li - i  tu ina ta -ay-  ar - ti ya
*power           and    glory.       On    my   return*
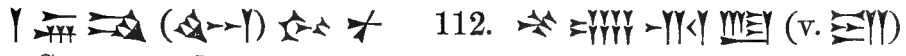
107. 

| eli | Du - na - nu | Gam - bu - li | ai | sa | a - na |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *against* | *Dunanu* | *the Gambulian,* | | *who* | *to* |
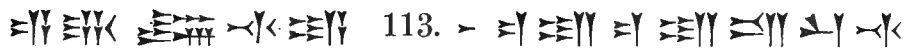
Elam     108.

| Elam | | it - tag - lu | as - ku | na | pa - ni | ya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Elam* | | *trusted;* | *I* | | *set* | *my face.* |
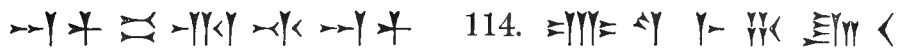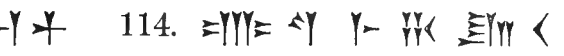
  109.

| Sa - pi - i - bel | alu tugul - ti | Gam - bu | li |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sapibel,* | *the fortified city* | *of* | *Gambuli,* |

  110.

| ak | su - ud | ki | rib | alu | su - a | tu | e - ru - ub |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *I took;* | | | *into* | | *that city* | | *I entered,* |
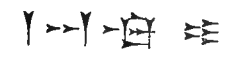
  111.

| nisi | su | az - lis | u - qu - uḫ | Du - na - nu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *its people entirely* | | | *I carried off.* | *Dunanu and* |

  112.

| Ṣa - am - (ha) | gu - nu | mu - nir | ri - ḍu | (v. ḍa) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Samgunu,* | | *opposers* | *of* | *the* |

  113.

| e - pis | ṣaru - ti | ya | ina | zi | iẓ - ẓi | is - qa - ti |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *work of my kingdom,* | | | *in* | | *strong* | *fetters* | *of* |

  114.

| parzil | bi - ri | ti | parzil | u - tam - mi - ḫa | qati | va |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *iron,* | *and bonds* | *of iron,* | | *I bound their hands* | | *and* |

  115.

| sepi | ṣi | it - ti | abli | Bel - ba - sa | kin - nu | su |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *feet.* | *The rest* | *of the sons of* | | *Belbasa,* | *his kin,* | *the* |

  116.

| ziri | bit | abu | su | ma - la | ba - su - u | Nabu - nahid |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *seed of his father's house,* | | | | *all there were,* | | *Nabonidus and* |

Q

𒀭 𒌋 𒊺 𒀀 𒈾 𒁹 𒉺 𒍦 𒀜 𒐈

Bel - edir　　　abli　　　Nabu - zikir - esses

*Beledir,*　　*sons of*　　*Nebozikiresses*

117. 𒋼 𒀀 𒀭 𒈾 𒈂 𒊑 𒉺 𒁺 (v. 𒁕) 𒄿

tig - en - na　　va　　nir - pad - du　(v. da) - i

*the tigenna,*　*and*　*the*　*attendants*　*of*　*the*

𒀀 𒁉 𒁀 𒉌 𒋢 𒉡
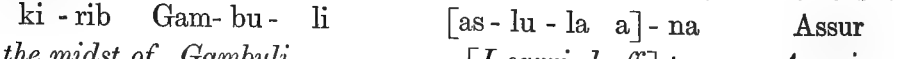
abi ba　ni su - nu

*father their begetter;*

Column IV.

1. 𒀉 𒋾 𒀀 𒊺 ░░░░░░░ 𒁉 𒋼 𒁉 𒂊
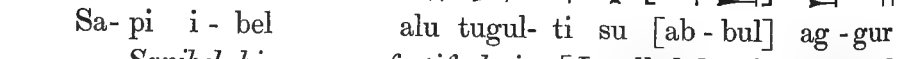
it - ti　　the　　* * * * - bi　　Te - be - e

*with*　*the*　*\* \* \* \* and*　　*Tebe,*

2. nisi　Gam - bu - li　alpi　zeni

*people*　*of*　*Gambuli,*　*oxen,*　*sheep,*

imiri　3. susi　pare　ul - tu

*asses,*　*horses,*　*and*　*mules;*　*from*
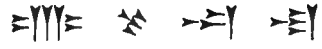
ki - rib　Gam - bu - li　4. [as - lu - la a] - na　Assur

*the midst of Gambuli,*　*[I carried off] to*　*Assyria.*

Sa - pi　i - bel　5. alu tugul- ti su [ab - bul] ag - gur

*Sapibel, his*　*fortified city, [I pulled down], destroyed,*

ina　me　us - ham - mid

*and into the waters I turned.*

CYLINDER A, COLUMN X, LINES 22 TO 30.

22. [cuneiform]
Ṣa - duri ṣar     Ur - ar - di     sa     ṣarri
*Saduri, king of        Ararat;        who     the kings*

[cuneiform] 23. [cuneiform]
abi     su        a - na     abi     ya     is - ta -nap-pa - ru - u
*his fathers        to     my fathers     had     sent     concerning     the*

(v. [cuneiform])  24. [cuneiform]
(v. par- u) - ni     aḫu - u - ut            e - nin - na        Ṣa - duri
*brotherhood.*                                   *Again,        Saduri,*

[cuneiform] 25. [cuneiform]
da - na - a - nu  ip - se- e - tu            sa        Ili        rabati
*the     mighty     things*                    *for which the great Gods*

[cuneiform] 26. [cuneiform]
i - si - mu     in     ni     is - me- e     va            ki - ma sa ablu
*had     caused     renown     to me,     heard,     and*            *like a son to*

[cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]
a - na     abi     su     is     ta - nap - pa - ra     (v. ru)     bel - u - ut
*his     father, he     sent     concerning     the*            *dominion;*

27. [cuneiform]
va        su        u        ki - i        pi - i        an - nim - ma
*and        he        by        word        of        mouth        to        me*

[cuneiform] 28. [cuneiform]
is - ta - nap- pa- ra            um - ma  lu - u  salim - mu  a - na
*sent*                          *thus:     "Salutation     to the*

[cuneiform] 29. [cuneiform]
ṣar  beli  ya            pal - ḫi  is  kan - sis     ta - mar - ta
*king my lord."*            *Reverently and submissively his numerous*

su   ka    bit - tu       30.    u   - se - ba - la    a - di

*presents*             *he     sent     to*

mah - ri    ya

*my presence.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN IV, LINES 84, TO COLUMN VI, LINE 92.
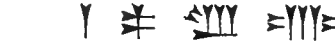
82.    Ina    ṣibe   gar - ri    ya    eli     Te - um -man

*In    my seventh expedition    against .    Teumman*
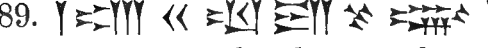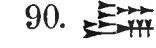
85.   ṣar     Elam    lu - u   al - lik     86.   sa    eli

*king of    Elam     I   went ;      who against*

Um -man- i -gas    Um -man-ap - pa    Tam-ma- ri - tu

*Ummanigas,     Ummanappa,   and    Tammaritu,*
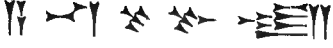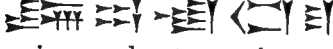
87.   abli     Ur - ta - ki    ṣar      Elam

*sons of    Urtaki,    king of     Elam,*

88.   Ku   dur   ru     Pa - ru - u     abli

*Kudurru    and     Paru,     sons of*

89.   Um -man- al - da -se   ahu   Ur - ta - ki     90.   ṣar

*Ummanaldasi,   brother of   Urtaki,     king of*

Elam    91.   nisi   zirati   su   is   ta -nap-pa- ra

*Elam;     his great men     sent,*

𒀀 𒈾 �history — a - na se - bu - li
*for the surrender of*

92. nisi sa - a - tu - nu sa
*these men, who*

in -nab- tu - niv -va
*had fled and*

93. iz - ba tu niri ya se - bul
*taken my yoke. Their surrender*
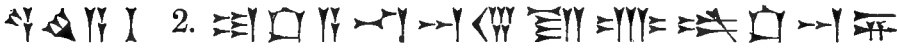
su - nu ul ag - bi su
*I did not grant him.*

94. ana eli mi - mut - e - ti ina
*Concerning the demands, by the*

qati Um - ba - da - ra - a
*hand of Umbadara*

95. va Nabu - damiq
*and Nebodamiq*
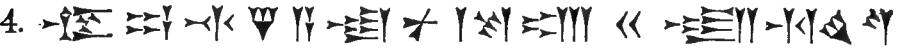
is - ta -nap- pa - ra araḫ u
*he sent a month.*

Column V.
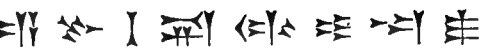
1. Ki rib Elam us -tar- ra - aḫ ina puḫur
*In the midst of Elam he set himself to work in gathering*
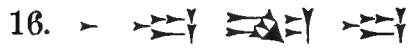
umman su ad -gil a - na Istar sa . u - tag- gil an - ni
*his army. I trusted to Ishtar, who protects me.*

3. ki bit pi i su ṣa ḫu - u ul am -gar ul a -din su
*The demand of his vile mouth I did not accede to, I did not give him*
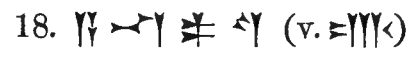
4. mun -nab- ti sa - a -tu - nu Te - um -man li - mut -tu
*those fugitives. Teumman devised*

5. 𒐊 [cuneiform] is - te - ni - ha - a    Sin    is - te - ni - ha su
     *evil;*      *Sin*      *devised against him*

6. [cuneiform]   * * * *   limutti ina araḫ Dūza atalu lat - tur - ri
   *omens of evil; in the month Tammuz, the darkness of the morning*

****   7. [cuneiform] us - ta - ni - iḫ va sam - si ẓit va ki - ma
*watch*     *he caused to retard the rising sun; and like*

[cuneiform] su - a - tu va   8.   3 immi us - ta - ni - iḫ a - na
  *this also*     *three days he caused to retard;*   *to the*

[cuneiform] ki - it   pali   9.   [ṣar] Elam uḫalliq
  *end (?)*   *that (?)*    *"the [king] of Elam shall be destroyed,*

[cuneiform] mata su   10.   * * * * an - ni puluk uzzi su sa
*his country*    * * * *" *this she selected(?) in her power, which*

[cuneiform] la in - ni - nu - u   11.   ina im - mi su va me eḫ - ru
  *changed not.*    *In*    *those*    *days,*    *before*

[cuneiform] im - ḫar su va   12.   saput ṣu uq - ta - qum va
  *she received him,*     *her lips*     *cursed,*    *and*

[cuneiform] eni su iṣ - ḫar va   13.   ga - ba - ẓu is - sa - kin ina
  *her eyes flamed, and*    *vengeance*   *was*   *fixed*   *in her*

[cuneiform] lib - bi sa   14.   it - ti ip - se - e - ti an - na - a - ti
  *heart.*     *About*    *these*    *things,*    *which*

𒀭 ... ... sa Assur va Istar
*Assur and Ishtar*

15. e - pu -su- us ul i ba - as
*did to him, he knew not;*

id - ka - a umman su
*he gathered his army.*

16. ina arah Abu arah
*In the month Ab, the month*

na - an - har - ti kakab Bam
*of the luminous Sagittarius,*

17. i -sin- ni sar - ra ti
*in the festival of the*

ka - bit - ti bintu Bel
*mighty queen, the daughter of Bel;*

18. a - na pa-lah (v. luh)
*to worship*

sa rab- ti as - ba - ak
*her greatly I sacrificed(?)*

19. ina Arba- il alu na - ram
*in Arbela, the city the delight of*

lib - bi sa
*her heart.*

20. as -su ti -bu -ut Elam - e sa ba - lu
*Of the invasion of the Elamite, who against*

Ili it - ba - a
*the Gods came;*

21. [u - sa]- an -nu -u ni
*they repeated*

de - e -mu
*word*

22. um - ma Te- um -man ki a - am
*thus:* " *Teumman even*

ig - bi
*saith*

23. sa Istar u sa - an - nu -u me - lik
*of Ishtar,*" *they repeated the tenor*

de - mi su
*of his words,*

24. um - ma ul u -vas - sar a - di
*thus:* " *I will not cease until*

al - la - ku     25.   it   ti   su   [a - na]   e   pu - su
*I go*     *with   him   [to]     make*

mit-ḫu ẓu - ti     26.   su-par me - ri - iḫ   ti an ni - ti
*war."*     *Over     this     threat,*

sa   Te - um -man     27.   ig   bu - u   am - ḫar   [sa] - qu   ti
*which   Teumman*     *had spoken; I prayed to the lofty*

Is - tar     28.   a   (v. az) - zi -ma a- na   tar- ẓi   sa
*Ishtar.*     *I    approached    to    her    presence,*

ak -mi-iṣ sa- paḷ sa     29.   Ilu   uṣ - ṣa   u -sa-ap-pa-a
*I bowed   under   her,*     *her divinity   I supplicated,*

il - la - ka   salim - ma   ai     30.   um - ma bi lat
*and she came to save me.*     *Thus: " Goddess of*

Arba - il   a - na - ku     Assur - bani - pal ṣar   Assur
*Arbela,    I am     Assurbanipal king of Assyria,*

31.   bi - nu -ut qati   ki   *   *   *   *   *   abu   ba   nu - ki
*the work of thy hands   *   *   *   *   * the father thy begetter,*

32.   a - na ud-du- si   es- re - e ti     Assur    va
*to   restore   the   temples   of     Assyria,    and*

suk - lul   ma - ḫa   zi     Akkad    *   *   *   *   *   *
*adorn   the   cities   of     Akkad    *   *   *   *   *   *

33. 𒀭 ⸻ 𒂖 ⸻ ⸻ ⸻ 𒂖 ⸻ ⸻ ⸻ ⸻ 𒀭
    a   na   ku   as - re   e   ki   as - te - ni   ha - a
        *I*            *thy*         *courts*           *desire,*

    𒀠 - li - ka   a - na   pa - luḫ   ☒ ☒ ☒ ☒ ☒   34. 𒂊
    al - li - ka   a - na   pa - luḫ    *   *   *   *   *       va
         *I*    *go*   *to*   *worship*    *   *   *   *        *and*

    su - u   Te - um - man  ṣar     Elam     la  mu - sa - kir
    *he,*       *Teumman  king of*    *Elam,*    *hater  of   the*

    Ili   ku * *   li   a - na * *       35.  um - ma  at - ti  bi - lat
    *Gods*  *  *   *   *to*   *  *            *O   thou   Goddess*

    bi - le    e - ti   i - mat qab - li   bi  lat   ta  ḫa - zi
    *of Goddesses,  terrible  in  battle,  Goddess  of   war,*
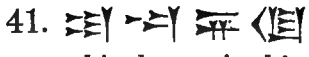
    ma - li   kat   Ili   * * *       36.  sa ina ma - ḫar  Assur
    *queen  of   the  Gods   * * *       who in the presence of Assur*

    abi   ba  ni   ki    damqati   tag  bi   i  ina  na * * *
    *the   father  thy   begetter,   speakest   good   in    * * **
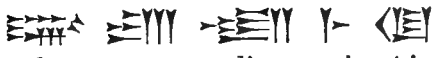
37. iḫ - su - ḫa an - ni * * *    38. a - na  su - ḍu - ub  lib - bi
    *loved    me   * * * * *          to make glad the heart of*
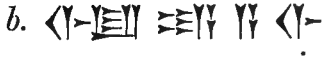
    Assur va nu - uḫ - ḫi   ka - bat - ti  Maruduk * *  ru - ur - ru
    *Assur,   and   rejoice   greatly   Merodach * *   * * **

    ki  * * *        39.  as - su  Te - um - man  ṣar     Elam
    *they  * * *            Of   Teumman king of    Elam*

    R

40. 𒀭 𒌋 ⸢𒀸 ⸣ [𒈗 𒀭 𒀭] 41. 𒀸 𒉺 𒆪 𒀭
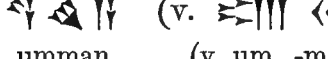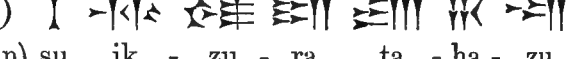
sa   a - na  Assur  [şar   Ili]      abi  ba - ni  ki
*who to    Assur [king of the Gods,]  the father thy begetter*

𒀀 𒈿 𒀭 𒆪 ▒▒▒    a. 𒀭 𒀸 𒌋 𒀀 𒈾 𒀭
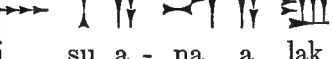
iḫ  - tu - u  * * * *        va   a - na    Maruduk
* * * *    * * * *           *and     to     Merodach*

𒈠 𒀭 𒄿 𒈪 𒆪 𒀭 𒌋 𒋢 𒉆 ▒▒▒
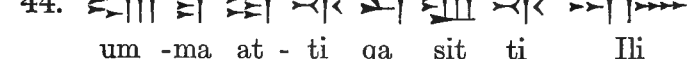
aḫu   ta - li - mi  ki  Ilu-tu su  nam  * * * *
*thy good brother,*     *his divinity  * * * * * **

b. 𒀭 𒈠 𒌋 𒋛 Assur -bani-pal sa  a - na  nu- uḫ
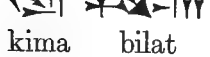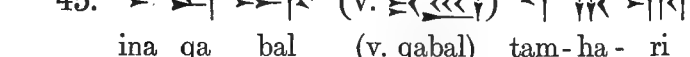
va   ya - a - si  Assur -bani-pal sa  a - na  nu- uḫ
*and     of me  Assurbanipal, who   to    rejoice the*

𒀭 𒌋 𒀸 𒀭 𒀭 ▒▒▒▒    42. 𒄿 𒆠 𒀀 𒀭
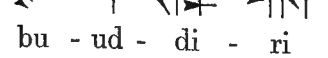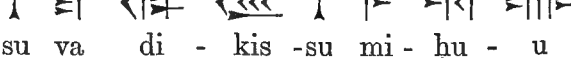
lib - bi  Assur va  * * * * * *       id - ka - a
*heart of Assur and  * * * * * ***    *he gathered*

𒀭 𒀀 𒀭 (v. 𒌝 𒈠) su  ik - ẓu - ra  ta - ḫa - zu

umman     (v. um -man) su  ik - ẓu - ra  ta - ḫa - zu
*his      army,        and     prepared      for war,*

43. 𒌋 - sa - ḫa - a - la  kakki  su a - na  a  lak

u  - sa - ḫa - a - la     kakki   su a - na  a  lak
    *he  urges     his fighting men  to   go   to*

𒀸 𒀭    44. um -ma at - ti qa  sit  ti   Ili
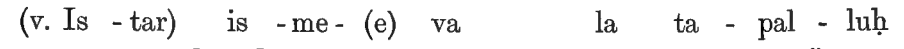
Assur       um -ma at - ti qa  sit  ti     Ili
*Assyria.*    *Oh    thou   archer  of     the Gods,*

𒆠 bilat    45. ina qa  bal  (v. qabal) tam-ḫa - ri
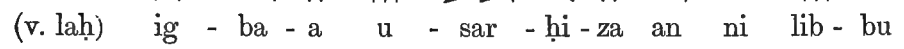
kima  bilat      ina qa  bal  (v. qabal) tam-ḫa - ri
*like   a weight*   *in the midst*            *of battle,*

bu - ud - di - ri  su va  di - kis -su mi - ḫu - u

bu - ud - di - ri  su va  di - kis -su mi - ḫu - u
*throw    him   down,    and   crush   him;     tear(?)*
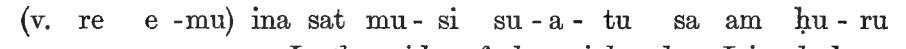
46. [cuneiform] im - si -nu    in -ḫi ya    su -nu -hu - (u) - ti    Istar
     \*   \*   \*   \*    *My*     *acceptable*     *prayer*     *Ishtar*
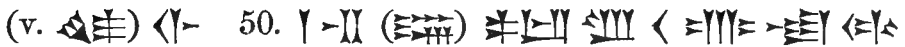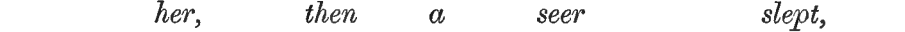
(v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]    47. [cuneiform]
(v. Is - tar)   is -me- (e) va      la    ta - pal - luḫ
     *heard, and*           *"fear not,"*
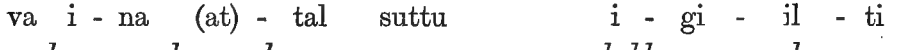
(v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]
(v. laḫ)   ig - ba - a    u - sar -ḫi -za   an   ni   lib - bu
     *she*   *said, she*   *caused*   *my*   *heart*   *to*     *rejoice;*

48. [cuneiform]
a - na   ni - is   qati   ka    sa   tas - sa - a   enu    ka
*" At the lifting up of thy hand which thou liftest, thine eyes*
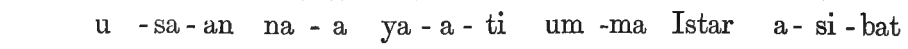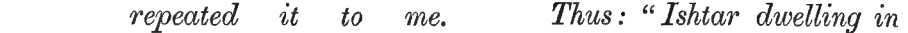
[cuneiform]    49. [cuneiform]
im   la - a   ḍi - im -tu       ar - ta - si    remu
*shall be satisfied with the judgment.*    *I will grant favour."*

(v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]
(v. re   e -mu) ina sat mu - si   su - a - tu    sa   am   ḫu - ru
     *In the midst of that night when I invoked*

(v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]   50. [cuneiform]
(v. ḫar)   si      edin      sap - ru -u   u - tu - ul
     *her,*     *then*    *a*    *seer*     *slept,*

[cuneiform]    5I. [cuneiform]
va   i - na   (at) - tal   suttu     i - gi - il - ti
*and*    *dreamed*    *a*     *remarkable*    *dream,*

[cuneiform]
va   tap - sit mu - si   Istar    u - sap - ru   u   su
*and*   *during*   *the*   *night*   *Ishtar*    *spoke to him, and he*

52. [cuneiform]
u - sa -an   na - a   ya -a - ti   um -ma   Istar   a -si -bat
     *repeated*   *it*   *to*   *me.*    *Thus: " Ishtar dwelling in*

53. Arba - il    e - ru - ub    (v. ba) - av - va imnu va
    *Arbela,*        *entered,*       *and*       *right    and*

sumili    tu - ul    (v. tul) - la - a - ta    is - pa - a - ti
*left*       *she       was       surrounded    with      glory(?),*

54. tam-ḫa- at mitpaṇu i - na (v. ina) i - di sa    55.    zal-pat
    *holding    a    bow    in          her    hand,       projecting*

muz -za- ru kap tu sa e - pis ta - ḫa- zi    (v. taḫaz)
*a    powerful    arrow(?)    on    making    war,*

56. ma- ḫar sa ta - (az) - zi -iz si - i    ki -ma umma
    *her    countenance    was    set.    She    like    a    mother*

57. a- lit - ti    i -tam-ma- a    it - ti    ka    58.    il - ṣi
    *bearing,    was    in    pain    with    thee,        she brought*

ka    Istar    sa - qu -ut (v. qut)    Ili    i - sak -kan
*thee forth.    Ishtar    exalted of the        Gods,        appointeth*

ka    ḍe - e -mu    59.    um -ma    ta - na - da - la    a -na
*thee    a    decree.        Thus:    'Carry    off    to*

e - pis    sa - as - si    60.    a - sar    pa - nu    ki    sak - nu
*make    spoil,        the    place    before    thee    set,*

te - ba    ku    a - na - ku    61.    at - ta    ta - gab - bi    si
*I    will    come to.'        Thou    shalt    say    to    her,*

um -ma a - sar    tal - la - ki          62.    it - ti   ki   lul -lik
*thus:* '*The place thou goest to*          *with thee I will go.*'   *The*

bi lat    bileti          63.    si - i    tu -sa -an - nak - ka    um - ma
*Goddess of Goddesses*    *she*    *repeateth*    *to*    *thee*    *thus:*

at - ta    a - gan    na          64.    lu - (u) as - ba - ta    a - sar
'*Thee I will guard,*          *then I will rest in the place of the*

mas- gan - i    Nabu          65.    a - kul a - ka - lu    si    ti
*temple    of    Nebo,*          *eat    food,*          *drink*

ku - ru - un -nu          66.    nin gu -ut su - kun    nu - hi - id
*wine,*          *music    appoint,    glorify    my*

|Ilu - (u) - ti          67.    a    di    al - la - ku sip - ru
*divinity,*          *until    I    go,    and    this*

su - a    tu    ip - pu su          68.    u - sak    sa - du
*message shall be accomplished.*          *I will cause thee to*
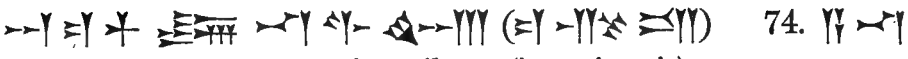
ẓu - (um) -mi- rat lib -bi    ka          69.    pa- nu -u    ka    ul
*take the desire of thy heart,*          *before thee he shall not*
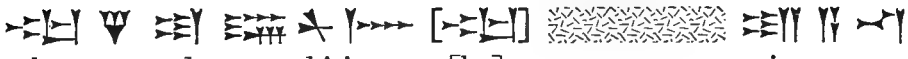
ur - rak    ul    i - nir - ru - ḍa    sepi    ka          70.    ul
*stand,    he    shall    not    oppose    thy feet*          *Do not*

ta    u -sat zu -par    ka    ina qabal tam- ḫa- ri          71.    ina
*regard*(?) *thy    skin.*          *In the midst of battle,*          *in*

ki - rim - me    sa    ḍabti    taḥ - ẓi - in    ka    va
*her    beneficent    generosity,    she    guards    thee,    and*

72. taḥ - te - na    gi   mir   la   a-ni- ka     73. pa-nu- us -sa
*overthrows  all  the  unsubmissive.      Before her,*

isatu     ·in - na - pi- iḥ    (iz- ẓi - is)     74.   a - na
*a fire    is    blown    (strongly);      to*
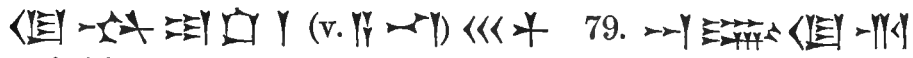
ka - sa - ad     nakiri    [ka]    * * * *    ẓi   a - na
*capture    [thy] enemies    * * * *    *    to*
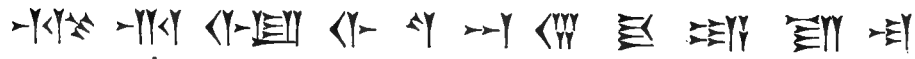
(v. �racheck) a - ḥa - a- ti     75. e - li    Te - um -man ṣar
*(v. in)  each other(?)."    Against    Teumman king of*

Elam     76. sa    ug - gu - ga - at pa-nu- us -sa
*Elam    who was    hateful  before  her,  she*

tas- kun     77. ina araḥ    Elulu     i -sin- ni
*appointed.    In the month    Elul,    the festival of*

Assur   ẓiru     78. araḥ   Sin    na - an - nir    same   va
*Assur the Great,    the month of Sin the luminary of heaven and*

irẓiti    ad - gil ana (v. a- na)    uzzi     79.    Ur    - ri
*earth, I trusted to the power of      Hur*

nam - ri    va    si - par   Istar   bilat   ya    sa   la
*the bright,  and the  message of Ishtar my Goddess  who is*

𒀭𒌋 𒀭𒌋 (v. 𒀭) 𒀭 𒀭 80. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

in - nin (v. ni) -nu-u ad - ke ẓabi taḥaz ya

*unchanged.* *I gathered my men of war,*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

mun- taḥ - ẓi sa ina ki - bit Assur Sin va Istar

*the fighting men who by command of Assur, Sin and Ishtar;*

81. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

it - ta - na as - ra - ḍu qabal tam ha - ri

*were arranged in order of battle.*

82. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

e - li Te- um -man ṣar Elam ur - ḥu

*Against Teumman king of Elam, the road*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 83. [𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭] 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

aẓ -bat va [us - te - es -se]- ra mur - ra - nu

*I took, and directed the march.*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
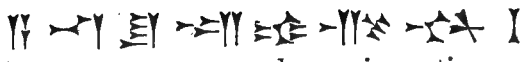
el - la -mu-u a Te- um -man ṣar Elam

*In front of me, Teumman king of Elam*

84. 𒀭 [𒀭] 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
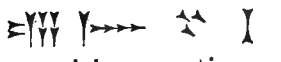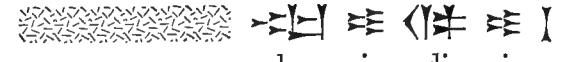
* * * * [na] - di man-dak-tu e -rib saru ti ya

* * * * *camp was placed. Of my royal entry,*

85. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

sa ki - rib Dur - il is -me - e va iẓ -bat ṣu

*in the midst of Duril he heard; and fear took*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 86. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
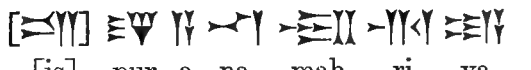
ḥat- tu Te - um -man ip - luḥ va arku su i -tur

*hold of him. Teumman feared, and after him turned*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 [𒀭 𒀭] 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 87. 𒀭 𒀭
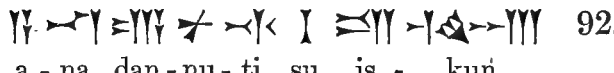
e - ru - ub [ki - rib] Su- sa -an * * * * gi

*and entered [into] Shushan.* * * * * * *
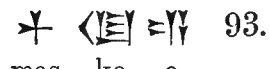
𒀭𒈾 su - zu - ub napis- ti su   88. ※ ※ ※ ※ ※ 𒀭𒈾
[a - na su - zu - ub napis- ti su  ※ ※ ※ ※ ※ a - na
*To  save  his life  ※ ※ ※ ※ ※ to the*

nisi mati su  89. ※ ※ ※ ※ ※ ka i - di - i su
*people of his country  ※ ※ ※ ※ ※ his hand(?),*
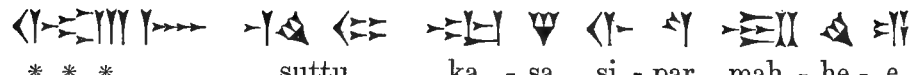
pa- nu- us -su u tir (v. te)- rav - va 90. ※ ※ ※ ※
*before him returned, and ※ ※ ※ ※*
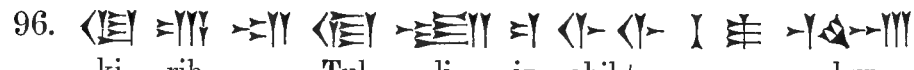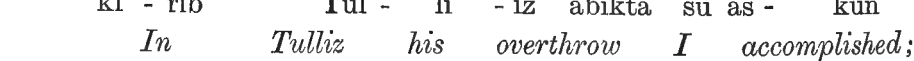
[is] -pur a - na mah - ri ya 91. [U - la]- ai
*[he] sent to my presence. The Ulai*

a - na dan- nu- ti su is - kun 92. ※ ※ ※ ※ pa- an
*for himself he fortified ※ ※ ※ ※ before*

mas - ke - e 93. ※ ※ ※ ※ Maruduk Ili rabati
*my camp ※ ※ ※ ※ Merodach, the great Gods*

beli ya 94. sa u -tag -gil- u in ni 95. ina
*my lords; who protected me: in*
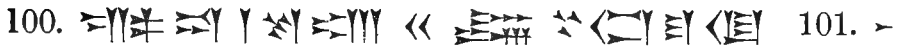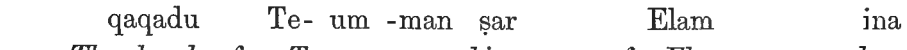
※ ※ ※ suttu ka - sa si - par mah - he - e
*omens of a dream, had given(?) a grand message.*

96. ki - rib Tul - li - iz abikta su as- kun
*In Tulliz his overthrow I accomplished;*
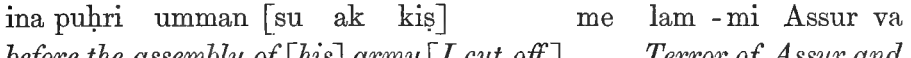
97. ina pagari su - nu U - la ai as- ki - ir
*with their corpses, the Ulai I choked up*
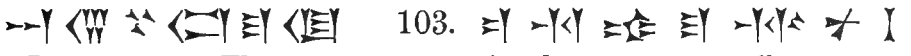
98. 𒀹 ... 
nen - a - te    su - nu    ki - ma    mitpanu    va   iz - u - gir
*Their     wives,     like     bows     and     arrows,*
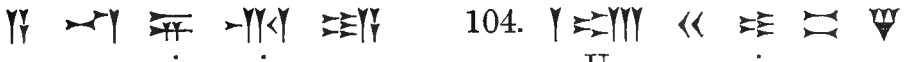
99.
u - ma - al    la    a    ta - mar    ti     Su - sa - an
*filled     the     vicinity     of     Shushan.*
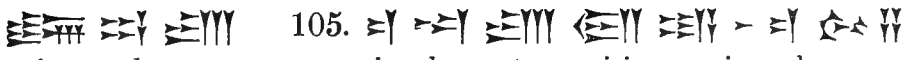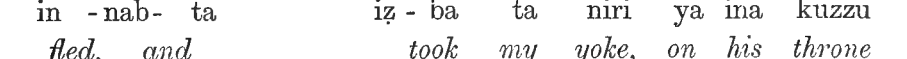
100.
qaqadu    Te - um - man    ṣar     Elam     101. ina
*The head of    Teumman    king     of Elam,     by*

ki    bit    Assur    Maruduk    Ili     rabati     beli    ya
*command of Assur and Merodach, the great Gods my lords;*

ina puḫri    umman [su   ak   kiṣ]     102.    me    lam - mi    Assur va
*before the assembly of [his] army [I cut off].     Terror of Assur and*
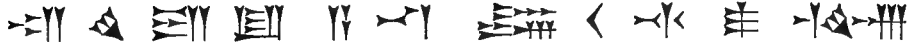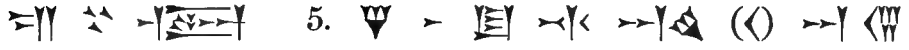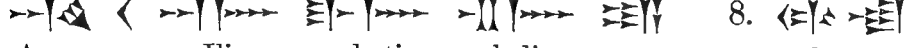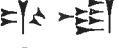
Istar      Elam      103.   iṣ - ḫu - up    va    ik - nu-su
*Ishtar,      Elam       overwhelmed, and they submitted*

a - na    ni - ri    ya     104.    Um - man - i - gas    sa
*to    my    yoke.      Ummanigas    who*

in - nab- ta     105.   iẓ - ba    ta    niri    ya   ina   kuzzu
*fled, and       took    my    yoke,   on   his   throne*

su    u    se - sib
*I    seated.*

COLUMN VI.

1. 𒁹 ... ... ... ... 𒀀 ... ... (𒁹)    2. ...
Tam - ma - ri - tu    aḫu  su  sal - sa -   ai              ina .
*Tammaritu,      his     third   brother,*              *in*

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
Ḫi - da - lu    a - na    ṣar - u - ti    as - kun
*Hidalu      to     the    kingdom,     I     appointed.*

3. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
ruqubi            ẓu - um   bi            susi
*Chariots      of       war,            horses*

... ... ... ... ...    4. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
pare                        ẓi -bat- ti  ni - i - ri    bat- le
*and mules,*                *trained  to   the   yoke,  instruments*

... ... ...    5. ... ... ... ... ... (...) ... ...
ṣi -mat  taḫaz        sa ina tugul- ti   Assur (va)   Istar
*fashioned for war ;*    *which in the service of Assur and Ishtar,*

... ... ... ... ... ... ...    6. ... ... ... ... ... ...
Ili        rabati     beli      ya        bi  rit       Su - sa - an
*the     great    Gods    my     lords,*                *near     Shushan*

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...    7. ... ... ...
U    la - ai    ik - su - da  qati  ai        ina  ki  bit
*and   the   Ulai,   my    hands   captured;*    *by command of*

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...    8. ... ...
Assur  va    Ili      rabati     beli    ya        ul    tu
*Assur   and    the    great   Gods   my    lords,*        *from*

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...    9. ... ...
'ki   rib          Elam      ḫa-dis   u -ẓa- av -va        a - na
*the   midst   of  Elam, joyfully  I  brought  out, and       to*

gi - mir   umman   ya   sa   sal - tu   sak - na - at
*all   my   army,   for   spoil   they   were   given.*

---

10. Ina samne gar - ri ya eli Du na nu ablu
*In my seventh expedition, against Dunanu son of*

Bel ba - sa   11. a - na Gam - bu - li lu - u al - lik
*Belbasa,   to   Gambuli   I   went;*

12. sa a - na sar Elam it - tag - lu   13. la - a
*who to the king of Elam had trusted, and did not*

ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya   14. ta - ha - zi
*submit to my yoke.   By my powerful*

dan - nu Gam - bu - li a - na si - hir - ti su   15. ki - ma
*attack Gambuli through its extent,   like a*
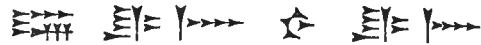
sar - bare ak - tum   16. Sa pi - i - bel
*hailstorm I covered.   Sapibel*

alu dan - nu - ti - su   17. sa ki - rib me na da at
*its strong city;   which in the midst of the waters was*
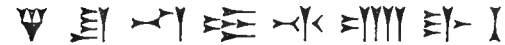
su - bat su ak - su - ud   18. Du - na - nu ahi su
*situated, I captured.   Dunanu and his brothers,*

ul - tu ki - rib alu su - a - tu   19. bal - du - su - un
*from the midst of that city,   alive I*

u - se - ẓa - a     20.    allat   ṣu    abli   su    binti    su
*brought out.*       *His wife, his sons, his daughters,*

sal sik - ri - ti su    21.    nis    labi    sal    labi
*his concubines,*     *male musicians and female musicians,*

u - se - ẓa - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu    22.    kasap   ḫuraẓ
*I brought out, and as spoil I counted.*     *Silver,*   *gold,*
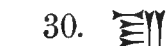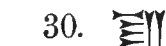
sa - su   na - gan   ti    e - kal su    23.    u - se - ẓa - av - va
*furniture, and musical instruments of his palace,*   *I brought out, and*

sal - la - tis am - nu    24.    * * * * man - za - az   pa - ni su
*as spoil I counted.*     * * * * *standing*   *before*   *him*

mar    ki - tu    u (?)    25.    * * * u - se - ẓa - av - va
* * * * * * * *     * * * *I brought out, and*
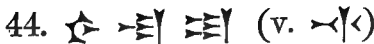
sal la - tis am - nu    26.    * * * * * ma - la   ba - su - u
*as spoil I counted.*     * * * * * *all*   *there*   *was*

27.    [sal] - la - tis am - nu    28.    Maṣ - ṣi   * * * *
   * * * * *as spoil I counted.*     *Massi the officer(?)*

29.    sa    Te um - man   [ṣar    Elam]    30.    sa
   *of*    *Teumman*   [*king*   *of*   *Elam*];    *who*

a - na   kit - ri    [Du - na - nu]    31.    as - bu   ki - [rib
  *to*    *aid*    [*Dunanu*]    *dwelt*    *within*

𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭     32. 𒀭 𒈨 𒀭 𒀭 - 𒀭

Sa - pi - i] - bel      bal - du - uṣ   ṣu   ina [qati

[Sapi]bel:        alive   in   [hand]   I

𒀭] 𒀭    33. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

az̧.] -bat     it - ti pa - ni Du - na - nu   * * * * *

took,       with the officers of Dunanu    * * * * *

34. 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 [𒀭 - 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭]

alu su - a - tu ab - bul ag -[gur ina   me   us - ham - mid]

That city I pulled down, destroyed [and into the waters I turned].

35. 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 - [𒀭 𒀭]     36. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

a - di   la   ba - se - e ina [lib - bi]      na   gu   u

Until none were in the midst,       that

𒀭 𒁹 [𒀭] 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    37. 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

su - a - [tu]   u -   saḥ - rib    ri - kim a - mi - lu - ti

district    I   laid   waste.    The passage of people,

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹    38. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

ap ru - ṣa   zir   us - su     ina tu - gul - ti Assur   Bel

I cut off from over it.    In the service of Assur, Bel

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    39. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒁹

Nabu   Ili   rabati       nakiri   ya a - ni - ḥa

and Nebo the great Gods;     my enemies I rested from:

40. 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    41. 𒀭 𒀭

sal- mis a - tu - ra   a - na   Ninua      qaqadu

peacefully,   I   returned to   Nineveh.    The head of

𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    42. 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒀭 𒀭

Te- um - man ṣar      Elam     ina kibi Du - na - nu

Teumman   king   of   Elam,     round the neck of Dunanu

𒁹 𒀭    43. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

a   lul       it   ti   ki - sit - ti      Elam

I hung.     With   the   conquests   of   Elam,

44. ⟨cuneiform⟩ (v. ⟨cuneiform⟩) ⟨cuneiform⟩    45. ⟨cuneiform⟩
sal - la - at    (v. ti)    Gam- bu -  li         sa  ina
*and    the    spoil   of    Gambuli;*              *which by*
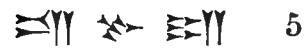
⟨cuneiform⟩ (v. ⟨cuneiform⟩) ⟨cuneiform⟩    46. ⟨cuneiform⟩
ki - bit  Assur  ik -su -du  (v. da)  qati  ai         it - ti
*command  of  Assur,  my  hands  had  taken;*            *with*
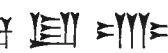
⟨cuneiform⟩    47. ⟨cuneiform⟩
nis    labi   e -pis nin -gu - ti         a- na        Ninua
*musicians    making    music,*            *into    Nineveh,*

⟨cuneiform⟩    48. ⟨cuneiform⟩
e - ru - ub ina    ḫidati         Um - ba - da - ra - a
*I  entered  with  rejoicings.*         *Umbadara   and*

⟨cuneiform⟩    49. ⟨cuneiform⟩
Nabu - damiq         nisi    ẓirati   sa  Te - um -man
*Nebodamiq,*          *great    men    of    Teumman*

⟨cuneiform⟩    50. ⟨cuneiform⟩
ṣar        Elam         sa   Te - um -man ina qati su -nu
*king   of   Elam;*        *whom   Teumman  by   their  hand*

⟨cuneiform⟩    51. ⟨cuneiform⟩
is - pu - ra         si - par mi - ri - iḫ - ti    sa ina
*sent*               *the   threatening   message,   whom   in*

⟨cuneiform⟩    52. ⟨cuneiform⟩
maḫ - ri   ya   ak - lu - u         u - qa - hu - u
*my    presence   I   confined,*         *and    bound,*

⟨cuneiform⟩    53. ⟨cuneiform⟩
pa- an  si - kin  ḍe - (e)   mi  ya         ni - kiṣ   qaqadu
*until  the  fixing  of  my  sentence:*         *the decapitated head of*

⟨cuneiform⟩
Te - um -man  bel  su -nu   ki - rib         Ninua
*Teumman    their    lord,    in*         *Nineveh*

54. [cuneiform]
e-mu-ru va sa-ne-e ḍe-e-mi iz-bat ṣu-nu-ti
*they saw, and another opinion took hold of them.*

55. [cuneiform]
Um-ba-da-ra-a ip-qu-ma ziq-na-a su
*Umbadara* *tore* *his* *beard,*

56. [cuneiform]
Nabu-damiq ina gir parzil sib-bi su iz-ḫu-la
*Nebodamiq with the steel sword of his girdle, pierced*

[cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]    57. [cuneiform]
ka-ra (v. kar)-aṣ ṣu     ni-kiṣ qaqadu
*through his [own]* *body.*    *The decapitated head of*

[cuneiform] 58. [cuneiform]
Te-um-man ina ṣati babi rabi qabal    sa   Ninua
*Teumman, in front of the great gate*   *situated in Nineveh;*

[cuneiform] 59. [cuneiform]
u-maḫ-ḫi-ra maḫ-ḫu ris    as-su da na-an
*I* *raised* *on* *high.*    *By the power of*

[cuneiform]
Assur va Istar beli ya nisi kul-lu-mi
*Assur and Ishtar my lords, the people reviled(?)*
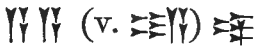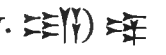
60. [cuneiform]
ni-kiṣ qaqadu Te-um-man ṣar Elam
*the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam.*
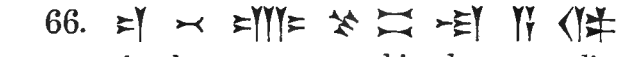
61. [cuneiform]
Pal-ai ablu Nabu-ṣa pan ablu-ablu
*Palia* *son* *of* *Nebosapan,* *grandson of*

[cuneiform] 62. [cuneiform]
Maruduk-bal-iddina sa la pa-an abu abi ba ni ya
*Merodachbaladan, of whom from the face of the grandfather my begetter;*

63. 𒀀𒁀 𒋗 𒅔 𒀭𒁄 𒌅 𒀀 𒈾 Elam      64. ul - tu
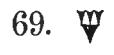
abu su    in -nab- tu   a - na      Elam          ul - tu

*his    father    had    fled    to      Elam;         from*
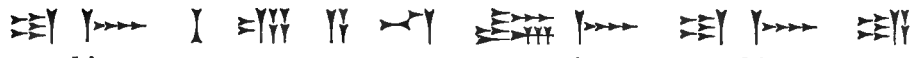
Um -man- i -gas   ki   rib      Elam      as   ku - nu ana

*Ummanigas [whom]   in   Elam, I   had   appointed   to   the*

(v. 𒋾 𒌅 𒁀)   ṣar - u - ti      65. Pal - ai (v. 𒅀) ablu
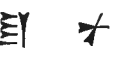
(v. a - na)    ṣar - u - ti         Pal - ai (v. ya) ablu

*kingdom;          Palia        son of*
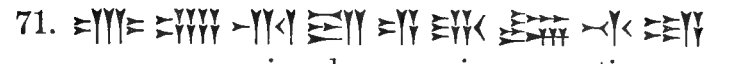
Nabu   ṣa - pan      66. iz - bat   u - se- bi - la   a - di

*Nebosapan        he    took,   and    sent     to*

maḥ - ri   ya      67. Du - na - nu    Sa - am - gu - nu

*my   presence.      Dunanu    and     Samgunu,*

68. abli    Bel - ba   sa   Gam - bu - la - ai      69. sa

*sons   of    Belbasa    the     Gambulian,      of whom,*

abi      su - un    a - na      ṣarri     abi     ya

*their    father    against    the    kings    my    fathers,*

70. u - dal - li    pu     va     va     su ~ nu

*had     made     inroads;      and     they*

71. u - ner - ri - da   e   pis ṣaru - ti   ya      72. ki - rib

*opposed   the   work   of   my   kingdom:      within*

Assur      va      Arba - il      73. a - na    kullu

*Assur      and     Arbela        to    execute*

aḫ - ra - a - ti　u - bil　su - nu - ti　74.　sa

*my　judgment　I　brought　them.　Of*

Man - nu - ki - aḫi　* * * *　Du na - nu　75.　va

*Mannukiahi　* * * *,　Dunanu　and*

Nabu - u - zal　li　nisi sa　eli　Gam - bu　li

*Nebouzalli,　men　who　were　over　Gambuli;*

76.　sa　eli　Ili　ya　ig　bu - u suq - la　tu　rab - tu

*who　against　my　Gods　uttered　great　curses,*

77.　ki - rib　Arba - il　lisan　su - un　as　lu　up

*in　Arbela,　their　tongues　I　pulled　out,*
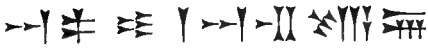
78.　as - hu - ud masak su - un　Du - na - nu　ki - rib　Ninua

*I flayed off their skin.　Dunanu　in　Nineveh,*
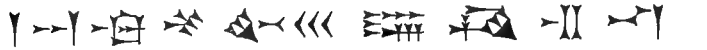
79.　eli　ma - ka - ẓi　id - du　suv　va

*over　a　furnace　they　placed　him,　and*

80.　iḍ　bu　ḫu　us　az - lis　81.　ṣi　it - ti　aḫi　su sa

*consumed　him　entirely.　The rest of the brothers of*

Du - na - nu　82.　va　Pal　ai a - ni　ir　siri

*Dunanu　and Paliya, I threw down; his limbs*
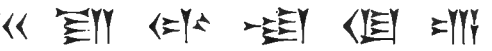
su　u　nak kiṣ　83.　u - se - bil　a - na　ta - mar - ti

*I　cut　off,　and sent　for　the inspection of my*

T

84.
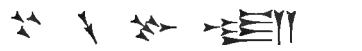
ma- ti   dan　　Nabu -nahid   Bel   edir　　　　abli
*powerful country.*　*Nabonidus  and  Beledir*　　*sons of*
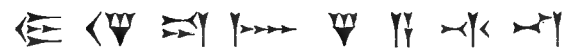
86.

Nabu -zikir- esses　　　　tig - en   na　　　sa   abu
*Nabuzikiresses*　　　　　*tigenna :*　　　*whose father*
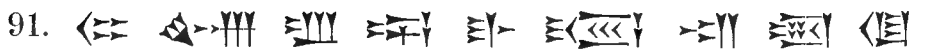
87.

ba -nu su - un　　Ur   ta   ki　　id - ka - a　　　a - na
*their    begetter,*　*Urtaki*　　*brought*　　　　*to*
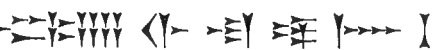
88.

mit - ḫu   ẓi　　　Akkad　　　　ner  pad - du - i
*fight    with*　　*Akkad*　　　　*the    attendants*

Nabu   - zikir -   esses   sa   ul   tu   ki - rib
*of    Nebozikiresses,  whom  from  the  midst  of*

89.

Gam- bu - li　　　　il   qu   u - ni   a - na
*Gambuli,*　　　　　*I    carried*　　*to*

90.

Assur　　　　ner - pad - du - i   sa - a - ti - na
*Assyria :*　　*those    attendants,*　　*in*

91.

me - eḫ　　rit  bab  rab  qabal　　　Ninua
*front  of the  great  gate  in  the  midst  of  Nineveh;*

92.

u　　saḫ - si  la　　abli   su
*I  caused  to  crush  his  sons.*

EXTRACT FROM K, 2652.

a. [cuneiform]
Ina araḥ Tasritu immi istin    in    nin   du  va    eli
*In the month Tisri, the first day, it was placed; and against*

[cuneiform]    b. [cuneiform]
su * * * * *              id   du - u   pagar   Te - um - man ṣar
*him* * * * *              *they threw the corpse of Teumman king of*

[cuneiform]              c. [cuneiform]
Elam      * * * * *                   ultu        su  sa  an
*Elam* * * * * *                   *from*        *Shushan*

[cuneiform]
alu   ṣar - u - ti  su  a - na   Ninua   alu   na    ram
*his   royal   city,   to   Nineveh   the   city   the   delight*

[cuneiform]    d. [cuneiform]
* * * * *              a - na    alani   ma - ḥa - zi   su - bat
* * * * *              *to    the    fortified   cities,   seats   of*

[cuneiform]    e. [cuneiform]
Is - tar - a - tu   sa   is   * * * * *           ina im - mi su
*Ishtaroth;      who    * * * * *           In those days,*

[cuneiform]
mitpanu su - a - tu ina qata   ai    at - mu - uḥ   * * * * *
*that   bow   in   my   hand,   I   took*         * * * * *

f. [cuneiform]
e - li   nikiṣ   qaqadu   Te - um - man ṣar    E - lam * * *
*over the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam,* * * *

g. [cuneiform]
da - na - an    Is - tar bilat ya a - mur va at   ta - id
*The   power   of   Ishtar   my   Goddess   I   saw   and   praised*

*h.* [cuneiform]

\* \* \*    mit-pa-nu su-a-tu ṣi-mat idi    ya    \* \* \* \*
\* \* \*    *that bow, the weapon of my hand*    \* \* \* \*
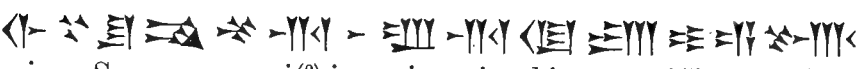
FRAGMENT OF TABLET K, 2674, CONTAINING EIGHT EPIGRAPHS FOR PLACING OVER THE SCULPTURED SCENES ON A PALACE WALL.

1. [cuneiform]
Um-ma-a    ti    Assur-bani-pal ṣar    Assur
*The    general    of    Assurbanipal king of Assyria;*

2. [cuneiform]
sa    it-ti    Um-man-i-gas ablu    Ur-ta-ki
*whom    with    Ummanigas    son    of    Urtaki*

[cuneiform] 3. [cuneiform]
ṣar    Elam    mun-nab-tu    sa    iẓ-ba    tu    niru
*king of Elam,    the fugitive, who    took    the    yoke of*

[cuneiform]
ṣaru    ti    ya    as-pu    ru a-na    ka-sad    Elam
*my    kingdom:    I    sent    to    conquer    Elam.*

4. [cuneiform]
Ṣi    im    bu    ru    niru    sa    Elam
*Simburu    a    chief    of    Elam,*

[cuneiform] 5. [cuneiform]
ma    lak    ummani    ya    is    mi    va    zi-kar
*of the progress of my army heard; and    at the fame of*

[cuneiform]
sum    ya    ip-luḫ    va    ina    mahri    a-mir    ya
*my    name    he feared, and    in    the    presence    of    my    envoy*

[cuneiform]
il-lik    av    va    u-na-siq    niri    ya
*he    came,    and    kissed    my    feet.*
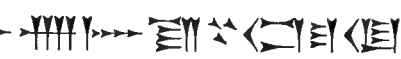
6. Um - ba - ki -din- ni     niru   sa   Ḫi- da - li
    *Umbakidinni*    *a*     *chief*    *of*     *Hidalu;*
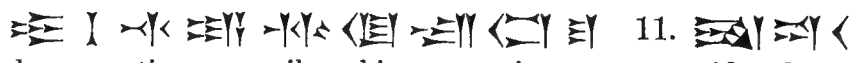
7. sa   qaqadu   sa    Is - tar - na - an - di   ṣar sa
    *who*    *the*    *head*   *of*    *Istarnandi*    *king*    *of*
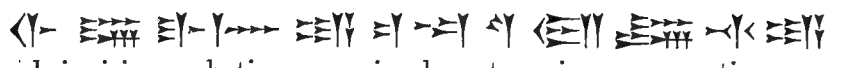
Ḫi da - li    na -su- ni     8. Zi - ne - e - ni
*Hidalu,*   *was*   *bringing.*      *Zineni*

sa- si   Su - am -mu- ri(?) ina miṣ- ri   ki - ta -i(?) e - ṣir
*sasi of*   *Suammuri (?), in a blockade (?)* * * * * *I besieged.*

9. da - na - an Assur bel   ya   pu - luḫ - ti   ṣaru - ti   ya
   *The power of Assur my lord, and fear of my kingdom,*

iṣ- ḫup su-nu- ti     10. qaqadi   rubi   sa    Elam
*overwhelmed them.*    *The heads of the princes of Elam,*

la kan-su- ti   ya   ik - ki   ṣu - niv -va     11. id - du -u
*not submissive to me, they cut off and*      *laid*

ina maḫri nisi   rabati   ya iẓ- ba - tu niru ṣaru ti ya
*in presence of my great men. They took the yoke of my kingdom.*

12. Ṣi - id - ru   sa    Assur -bani-pal ṣar     Elam
    *Line [of battle]; which Assurbanipal king of Elam,*

13. it - ti    Te - um -man ṣar     Elam
    *against*    *Teumman*    *king*    *of*    *Elam*

iṣ - di    ru    is - ku - nu    abikta        Elam
*arrayed.*     *They   accomplished   the   overthrow   of   Elam.*

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14. Te - um -man ṣar      Elam      taḥ - te - e umman su
     *Teumman   king   of   Elam,   the   defeat   of   his   army*

e - mur va      15. a - na   su - zu - ub napis - ti   su
*saw;   and*       *to     save     his     life,*

in    na - bit va   i - ba - qa - am   ziq - na - a su
   *he     fled,     and     tore     his     beard.*

---

16.   (Blank)    ablu   Te - um -man ṣar      Elam     sa ina
    *(Blank)*    *son   of   Teumman   king   of   Elam;   who   in*

tap- de - e   ip -par - si - du      17. ku   tig - ud - du su
   *fear     had     fled,*       *his   line   of   battle(?)*

is - ru    ḍu    a - na    abi    ba    ni   su
*had    arranged.    To    the    father    his    begetter*
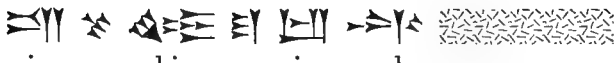
18. i - sa - aṣ    ṣu - u ku   us - sid la   ta   kal   la
   *he   had   said:   "the   battle(?)   do   not   continue."*

---

19. Te - um -man ṣar      Elam    sa   ina   taḥaz   ya
   *Teumman   king   of   Elam;   who   in   my   fierce*

dan - ni   muḥ - ḥa - ẓu      20. a - na   su - zu - ub napis- ti
*attack   was   wounded:*      *to     save     his     life*
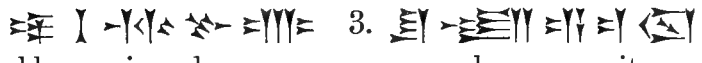
𒌋𒌋 𒈾 𒂍 𒁀 𒅖 𒌋𒌋 𒄷 𒇻 𒌒 𒆠 𒊑 𒆠𒅖 𒋾
in   na - bit   va   iḫ  - lu   ub   ki - rib   kis - ti
*fled,*   *and*   *passed*   *through*   *the*   *woods.*

21. [𒂍 𒄖] 𒂍 𒍪 𒌝 𒁉 𒊒 𒁺 𒊍 𒊒 �index 𒋾 𒋢
[ruqubi]   ẓu - um   bi   ru - du   ṣaru - ti   su
*The*   *war*   *chariot,*   *his*   *royal*   *carriage,*

𒅖 �natural 𒁀 𒁉𒅕 𒋡 𒅁 𒈦 ░░░░░
is - se- bir   va   ip - pal   *  *  *  *
*was*   *broken*   *and*   *fell*   *  *  *  *

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; ONE, TEUMMAN WOUNDED BY AN
ARROW, THE OTHER, HIS SON TAMRITU DRAWING A BOW.

1. 𒋼 𒌝 𒈠 𒄿 𒈨 𒆠𒀉 �automatic 𒂍 𒊑      2. 𒀭 𒀀
Te - um -man ina me   kit   ḏe  - e -mi          a - na
*Teumman*   *with a sharp command,*          *to*

𒀊 𒇻 𒋢 𒅅 - 𒁍- 𒌋      3. 𒋢 𒇷 - 𒂊 mitpanu
ablu su   ig - bu - u      su - le  - e mitpanu
*his son had said :*      *" draw the bow."*

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES (TEUMMAN AND HIS SON) BEING
EXECUTED.

1. 𒋼 𒌝 𒈠 𒊬 𒉏 𒊭 𒄿𒈾 taḫazi dan - ni
Te - um -man ṣar   Elam   sa ina taḫazi dan - ni
*Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce attack*

2. 𒈇 - 𒄷 - 𒍪 𒌋 Tam - ri - i - tu ablu su rabu - u
muḫ - ḫu - ẓu   Tam - ri - i - tu ablu su rabu - u
*was*   *wounded ;*   *Tamritu*   *his*   *eldest*   *son,*

3. 𒀭𒌋 𒆳 𒁀 𒋾 𒁀 𒌋 𒀀 𒈾 𒋢 𒍪 𒌒 napisti su - un
qati ṣu iẓ - ba   tu   va a - na su - zu   ub napisti su- un
*his hands had taken, and to save their lives,*

4. 〔cuneiform〕

in　nab - tu　iḥ　- lu - bu　ki - rib　kis - ti
*they　　fled,　　and　　passed　　through　　the　　woods.*

5. 〔cuneiform〕

Ina tugul - ti　Assur　va　Istar　a - lul　su - nu - ti
*In the service of Assur　and　Ishtar,　I　felled　them.*

6. 〔cuneiform〕

qaqadu　su - nu　akkiṣ　me　eḥ　rit a - ḥa - mis
*Their　heads　I　cut off, in presence of each other.*

EPIGRAPH OVER FIGURES SEATED IN A CHARIOT HOLDING A
MAN'S HEAD IN HAND.

1.　〔cuneiform〕

Qaqadu　　Te - um -[man　ṣar　　　Elam]
*The　head　of　Teumman　[king　of　Elam];*

2. 〔cuneiform〕

sa　ina　qabal　tam - ḥa - [ri　ik - ki - ṣu]
*which　in　the　midst　of　battle　[they　cut　off,]*

3. 〔cuneiform〕

a - ḥu - ru - u　umman　ya　a - na　bu - uṣ　[ṣu - rat]
*in　sight　of　my　army.　For　good　tidings,*

4. 〔cuneiform〕

ḥa - de - e　u　saḥ -ma- ḍu　a - na　　Assur
*joyfully　they　sent　[it]　to　Assyria.*

EPIGRAPH OVER WOUNDED FIGURE ON THE GROUND
SURRENDERING HIMSELF.

1. 〔cuneiform〕　　2. 〔cuneiform〕

Ur - [ta] -ku　ḥa - ta -nu　Te - um -man　　sa
*Urtaku　the　relative　of　Teumman;　who*

ina uẓ - ẓi muḥ ḥu - ẓu la ik -tu- u napisti

*by an arrow was wounded; regarded not his life.*

3. a - na na -kaṣ qaqadu ra -ma- ni su ablu Assur

*To cut off his own head, the son of Assur*

4. i -sa - ṣi va um -ma al - ka qaqadu nakiṣ

*he told also thus: "I surrender; my head cut off,*

5. maḥri ṣar bel ka i - si va le - e - ki - mu

*before the king thy lord set it, may he take it for a*
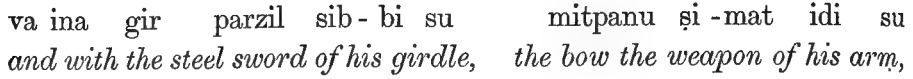
damqati

*good omen."*

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; THE FIRST HOLDING THE SECOND
BY THE HAIR OF HIS HEAD, AND LIFTING A SWORD WITH HIS
RIGHT HAND. THE SECOND WITH A SWORD IN HIS RIGHT
HAND, CUTTING IN TWO A BOW, HELD IN HIS OWN LEFT
HAND.

1. I - tu - ni i ummati Te - um -man

Ituni general of Teumman

ṣar Elam

king of Elam;
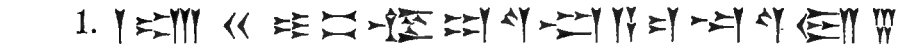
a- di maḥ ri ya

to my presence.

2. sa ir ḥa -nis is -tap-pa-ras-su

of whom, treacherously he sent him

3. ta -ḥa zi dan-nu e - mur

My fierce attack he saw;

U

𒀀 ⸻ 𒁀 ⸻ 𒁁 𒁁 ⸻ 𒁁 𒁁          4. 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

va ina gir parzil sib- bi su          mitpanu ṣi -mat idi su

*and with the steel sword of his girdle,*     *the bow the weapon of his arm,*

𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

ik - ṣi -ma qati ra -ma- ni su

*he severed in his own hand.*

<br>

EPIGRAPH OVER A FIGURE LED FORWARD BY THE HAND
TO RECEIVE HOMAGE.

1. 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

Um -manₗ- i -gas mun -nab-tu ardu a iẓ - ba -tu niri ya

*Ummanigas the fugitive, my servant, had taken my yoke.*

2. 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 ⸻ 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

ina e - pis pi - ya ina ḥidati ki rib Ma- dak -te

*In performing my command, with rejoicing into Madaktu*

3. 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

va Su sa -an ummati .ya sa as -pu -ru

*and Shushan; my general whom I had sent,*

4. 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 [𒁁] 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁          5. ⸻ 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

u - se - rib va [u] se - sib su          ina kuzzu

*caused him to enter, and seated him*          *on the throne of*

𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 [𒁁 𒁁] 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

Te - um -[man ik] - su - da qat ai

*Teumman, captured by my hands.*

<br>

EPIGRAPH OVER KING (ASSURBANIPAL) IN CHARIOT RECEIVING
AMBASSADORS.

1. 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁 𒁁

A - na - ku Assur bani- pal ṣar Assur

*I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria;*

2. [cuneiform]
sa ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar beli ya nakiri ya
*of whom, in the service of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, my enemies*

3. [cuneiform]
ak -su- du am - ẓu - u ma- la lib- bi ya Ru - ṣa - a
*I have captured; I have gratified all my heart.* *Rusa*

4. [cuneiform]
ṣar Ur - ar - ḍa da - na - an Assur bel ya
*king of Armenia; the power of Assur my lord,*

[cuneiform] 5. [cuneiform]
is - mi va pu- luḫ -tu ṣaru - ti ya iṣ- ḫu - up su
*heard of, and fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him,*

[cuneiform] 6. [cuneiform]
va nisi ẓirati su a - na sa - ha - al salim -mi ya
*and his great men to pray for my friendship,*
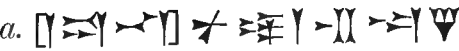
[cuneiform] 7. [cuneiform]
is - pu ra ana ki - rib Arba- il Nabu - damiq
*he sent to the midst of Arbela.* *Nebodamiq*

[cuneiform]
Um - ba - da ra - a nisi ẓirati sa Elam
*and Umbadara, great men of Elam,*

8. [cuneiform]
it - ti birati(?) si -par mi - ri - iḫ -tu ul - ziz
*in bonds for the defiance; I placed*

[cuneiform]
ina maḫ - ri su un
*in their presence.*

EPIGRAPH ON TABLET K, 2637.
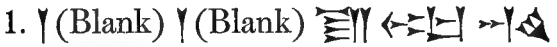
*a.* [Du - na] - nu ablu  Bel - ba -sa       *b.* [bal - ḍu] - uṣ - ṣu
*Dunanu    son of  Belbasa,*                    *alive*

ina qati  aẓ - bat       *c.* qu - ra - di   ya  bi - ri - tu
*in hand, I captured.*        *My   warriors  in   bonds*

id - du su va       *d.* [a - na]  Ninua  a - di  maḥ - ri  ya
*placed him, and*      [*to*]  *Nineveh,  to   my    presence*

.u -  saḥ -mi -ḍu - ni
      *they      sent.*

EPIGRAPH (*names blank*) OVER FIGURES BEING FLAYED ALIVE.

1. ꝑ (Blank) ꝑ (Blank) sa  eli  Assur    2. Ili ba - ni  ya
   (*blank*)   (*blank*) sa  eli  Assur    Ili ba - ni ya
   (blank)    (blank) *who against Assur*  *the God my begetter*

ig - bu - u  suq - la -tu  rab - tu     3. lisani su - nu
   *uttered    great    curses :*          *their tongues*

as  lu - up  as - ḥu - da  masaki su - un
*I  pulled  out,  I  tore  off  their  skins.*

The circumstances recorded in this division of Assurbanipal's
reign, probably extended over a considerable time, and the war with
Teumman, which forms its main feature, was evidently con-
sidered one of the most important struggles, in which Assyria
had engaged. This war, the subsequent triumph, and the tortures

of the prisoners, formed the theme of many of the sculptures, which ornamented the palace of Assurbanipal. After the flight of the Elamite princes to Assyria, Teumman sent an embassy under Umbadara and Nebodamiq, two of his chiefs, to demand that they should be given up. This Assurbanipal refused, and Teumman then declared war. Some appearance in the heavens was interpreted to indicate the overthrow of Elam; and Assurbanipal was told by the priests, that his favourite Goddess Ishtar of Arbela, had appeared in the night, and prophesied his victory. The description of her appearance in this vision, recalls the winged figure surrounded with a halo and drawing a bow, so often represented over the figures of Assyrian monarchs. The supposed bow of Ishtar appears to have been given to Assurbanipal, who afterwards often mentions it. The Elamite king retired from Duril, on the Assyrian border, at the approach of the forces of Assurbanipal; and took up a position near a town named Tulliz; having the river Ulai in front, and a wood behind his army. On the arrival of the Assyrians before his lines, Teumman sent a general named *Ituni*, to treat with Assurbanipal: but while he was in the Assyrian camp, the opposing forces joined in battle, and the Elamites were routed. *Ituni* broke his bow in despair, and several of the Elamite chiefs, showed a strong sense of the disaster, which placed their country at the mercy of Assurbanipal. Teumman and his eldest son fled, and passing through the wood tried to escape; but their chariot broke down, and they were surrounded and captured. The heads of Teumman and his son were cut off, and from the fact subsequently mentioned, that Tammaritu, Teumman's nephew, denied having done the act, it is evident that there was a belief that he was the murderer. Both Ummanigas and Tammaritu, with their adherents, fought in this battle, against their own country. After the conquest of the Elamites, Assurbanipal sent a general into Madaktu and Shushan, to proclaim Ummanigas (on K, 4796, written 𒀸 𒑒 𒑒 𒑒 𒑒 Um-man-i-ga-as) king of Elam; and in place of Istar-nandi the sub-king of Ḥidalu, (whose head was brought to Assurbanipal) Tammaritu (written sometimes 𒑒 𒑒 𒑒 𒑒 *Ta-am-ma-ri-it-tu*, 𒑒 𒑒 *Tamti*(?)-*i-ti*, 𒑒 𒑒 *Tam-mar-i-ti*, 𒑒 𒑒 *Tam-ma-ri-ti*, 𒑒 𒑒 *Ta-am-ma-ri-ti*, and

𒀭 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒈾 ‑𒐊𒐊‑ ‑𒐊‑  *Ta-am-ri-ti*), was made king in Ḥidalu.
Afterwards, Assurbanipal punished the Gambulians, for revolting in
alliance with Elam.   The expedition to Gambuli, is given as part of
the fifth expedition (which was against Teumman), in Cylinder A ;
but in Cylinder B, while the war with Teumman is called the
seventh expedition, the war with Gambuli is separated from it by
the usual divisional line, and called the eighth expedition.   Dunanu
the Gambulian, captured in this war, was son of Bilbasa, who
assisted Urtaki, and grandson of a chief also named Dunanu.
This name was written indifferently, 𒀭 𒐊 ‑𒐊 𒐊  *Du-na-nu*, and
𒀭 𒐊‑ ‑𒐊 𒐊  *Bu-na-nu*.   On his triumphal return, Assurbanipal
was met at Arbela, by the envoys of Ruṣā king of Ararat or
Armenia ; who came to make peace with him.   Ruṣā is probably
the same as the Ṣaduri of Cylinder A.   The name means " Istar,"
is a fortress, and was originally sounded Istar-duri, but by dropping
the initial *I* and running the שת into ס the name became
𒀭 𒐊 ‑𒐊𒐊‑ 𒐊𒐊 𒐊‑ ‑𒐊𒐊‑  *Sa-ar-da-ur-ri* (the name of the
king of Ararat who fought with Tiglath Pileser II).   The first
element in this name, suffered a further change ; Ṣar being con-
tracted to Ṣā or Ṣē, as in 𒀭 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 ‑𒐊𒐊‑  *Se-e-du-ri* (the
king of Ararat who fought with Shalmaneser II).   The name is
sometimes written with the position of the elements reversed, and
then reads Dur-ṣā, which is probably the origin of 𒀭 𒐊‑ 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊
*Ur-sa-a*, and 𒀭 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊  *Ru-sa-a*, forms of the name of two
late kings of Ararat.

# PART IX.
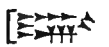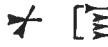
*The Revolt of Saulmugina, Brother of Assurbanipal.*

## TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history, are more numerous than those of any other period. Only the most important are here translated, the numbers of some of the others being given at the end for reference. The principal texts are Cylinder A, col. iv, line 6, to col. v, line 43, and Cylinder B, col. vi, line 93, to col. vii, line 87. The text of Cylinder C, which differs from both these, is too mutilated to be worth translating; but the closing passage which continues the narrative of Cylinder B is given. The date from a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 84, passages at close of a number of omen tablets, with a series of Epigraphs and Dispatches are also translated.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN IV, LINE 6, TO COLUMN V, LINE 43.

6. 　　　　　　　Saul - mu - gi na
　　* * * * * *　　　　*Saulmugina*
　　* * * * * *

[aḫu la ke] e - nu [sa ḏabtu e - pu] - su - us
*my younger* [*brother; benefits I had given*] *to him, and*

[as ku - nu us a na ṣaru - ut] Bab - ili
[*had appointed him to the kingdom of*] *Babylon*
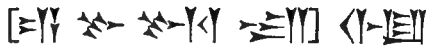
〳〳〳〳𒌋𒌋 𒈗 𒄿 𒈗 𒐊      8. 〳〳〳〳 𒀀𒁲 𒁹
\* \* \* \* \*   va ad - din su          \* \* \* \* \*     ruqubi
\* \* \* \* \*   *and gave him*           \* \* \* \* \*    *chariots*

𒀀𒁲𒈗    9. 〳〳〳〳〳   𒀀𒈝 𒄿   𒄿𒈠 𒄿
ak - zur va          \* \* \* \* \* \*    alani          ekili
*I fixed, and*        \* \* \* \* \* \*    *cities,*       *fields*

𒆠𒊑𒁹   10. [𒌋𒌋 𒈗 𒀀𒁲] 𒁀𒀀𒋼 𒅗𒊑 𒌋 𒊓𒋾𒅕
kiri          [man- da - at - tu]   bilat    u    sa - tir
*and plantations.*    [*Tribute*] *and   taxes,   I   caused to return,*
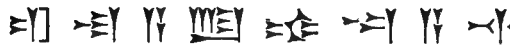
�val 𒂊𒇷 𒀀𒁉 𒁀𒉌 𒅀    11. [𒂊 𒉺 𒍑 𒋗] 𒀀𒁲
va   eli   abi bani ya         [e - pu   uş   şu]   va
*and more than the father my begetter,*  [*I did for him*].   *And*
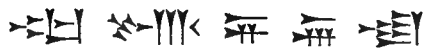
𒋗 𒌋 damqatu an - ni - tu   12. [𒆷 𒄩 𒊍 𒊓] 𒀀
su - u damqatu an - ni - tu      [la  ḥa - aş - şa] va
*he      these      favours*       [*disregarded,*]   *and*

𒅖𒋼𒉌𒄩𒀀𒇷𒈬𒌓𒌅   13. [𒉌𒊒 𒁁𒇾𒅀]
is - te - ni - ha - a limut - tu       [niru   belu- ti  ya]
*devised        evil.*              [*The yoke of my dominion,*]

𒄑𒆷𒀀𒁺𒌒𒁀𒀀𒋾   14. 〳〳〳〳 𒋗
iz]- la - a du - ub ba - a - ti          \* \* \* \* \*   su
*he    threw  off,  the  benefits*       \* \* \* \* \*   \*

𒅗𒍪𒉌𒊭𒌅   15. 〳〳〳〳𒇷
ka - zir    ni - şa - tu             \* \* \* \* \*    eli
*strengthener  of  men*(?)          \* \* \* \* \*    *over*

𒀸𒋩 am - ru   16. [𒀀 𒈾 𒊓 𒄩 𒀠 𒊩𒈠𒈪] 𒅀
Assur     am - ru          [a- na sa- ha - al  salim -mi] ya
*Assyria I ruled.*          [*To  pray for*]  *my*  [*friendship*]

𒅁𒊒𒊍𒀀   17. [𒈾𒆠𒊑] 𒀝 𒅋𒇷𒉺 〳〳
ip - ru - uş  va          nakiri  ina   elappi   \* \* \*
*ceased,     and*          *enemies   in    ships*   \* \* \*

𒐈𒀭 𒅇 𒁹 𒀭 18. ⸗ 𒀀 𒀭 𒌋 𒑱 𒅇 𒐊 𒀭
it ti su- un ina tan - ni kil - ti a - na
*with* *them,* *pretending* *to*

[𒑱 𒀀𒁹] 𒀭𒄣 𒀭𒐊𒐊 𒀭𒌋 𒈬𒀭 19. 𒐊 𒀭 𒌋𒁹 𒀭𒑱 𒐊 𒀭𒌋
[sa - ha] - al salim - mi ya a - na Ninua a - di
*pray* *for* *my* *friendship;* *to* *Nineveh,* *to*

[𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒑱] 𒐊 𒀀- 𒐊 𒁹 𒀀 𒀭 20. 𒐊 𒀭 𒌋
[mah - ri ya] is - pu-ras-su-nu - ti a- na ku
[*my* *presence*] *he* *sent* *them.* *I* *am*

𒁹 𒀭𒀀 𒌋 𒐊 𒀔 𒌋 𒀭𒀀 𒀭𒌋 [𒑱] 𒀭𒐊 𒐊𒀭 𒀭𒐊𒀭
Assur -bani-pal ṣar Assur [sa] Ili rabati
*Assurbanipal* *king* *of* *Assyria,* [*to* *whom*] *the* *great* *Gods'*

𒀭𒐊 𒀔 𒀭𒐊𒀀𒀀 21. 𒐊 𒀭𒀀 𒁹 𒀭𒌋 𒀭 𒁹 ⸗ 𒈬𒈬
si -mat damqati i - si -mu su ku-bat su ina ✳ ✳ ✳
*excellent* *fame* *have* *renowned* *him.* *His* *might* *in* ✳ ✳ ✳

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒑱 𒀭𒐊 22. 𒐊𒀭 𒐊𒀭 𒀀𒐊𒀭 𒀭𒌋 𒁹 𒀀 𒀭
ti va mi- sa- ri abli Bab - ili su - nu - ti
*and* *dominion.* *The* *sons* *of* *Babylon* *of* *them,*

[𒐊 𒀭𒐊] 𒐊 𒀭𒀭 𒐊𒌋 𒌋 𒐊𒐊 23. 𒐊𒀀 𒀭 𒀭𒐊 𒌋 𒀭
[i - na] passari tak -ne - e ul -ziz ṣu -nu - ti
[*in*] *state* *chairs* *I* *set* *them* *up;*

𒀭𒐊 𒅍 𒀭 𒀔 𒀭𒐊 𒀭 24. 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒌋 𒀭
lu -bul - ti kitu bir - mi u - lab bi - ṣu -nu - ti
*costly* *garments* *I* *placed* *upon* *them,*

𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒐊𒀀 𒐊𒐊 𒀀 𒀭𒐊 𒐊𒐊 25. 𒐊𒐊 𒀭 (𒐊) 𒁹 𒐊𒐊
semir- ri ḥuraẓ u -rak- ki - ṣa sit te (e) su- un
*rings* *of* *gold* *I* *fastened* *on* *their* *feet,*

𒐊 𒀭𒌋 𒐊 𒐊𒀭 𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒌋 𒁹 𒀀 𒀭 26. 𒀭𒐊 𒐊𒐊
a - di abli Bab - ili su -nu - ti ki rib
*and* *the* *sons* *of* *Babylon* *of* *them,* *in*

𒀭 ... Assur      u - su   (uz)    zu   i - dag - ga - lu
*Assyria   they    were   set   up,   they   were   honoured*

27. pa - an   sa - kan   ḏe - mi   ya      va      su - u
*before   the   giving   of   my   command.      And      he*

Saul   -mu- gi - na      28. aḫu   la   ke - e -nu sa
*Saulmugina,*                *my   younger   brother; who*

la   iẕ- ẕu - ru   a - di - ya      29. nisi      Akkad
*did   not   keep   my   agreement,*      *the   people   of   Akkad,*

Kal - du   A- ru   (v. ra) -mu   tam- ti      ul - tu      30.
*Chaldea,   Aram,   and   the   sea   coast,      from*

A - qa - ba   a - di      Bab - ṣa - li - mi - ti
*Aqaba         to         Babsalimitu,*

31. ardi   da - gil pa - ni   ya   us - pal - kit ina qati   ya
*tributaries dependent on me; he caused to revolt against my hand.*

32. va      Um -man- i -gas mun -nab- tu   sa iẕ - ba - tu
*And      Ummanigas   the   fugitive,   who   took*

33. niru   saru - ti   ya   sa   ki - rib      Elam
*the   yoke   of   my   kingdom,   of whom   in   Elam,*

34. as ku - nu- us   a - na   ṣar - u - ti   va      ṣarri
*I   had   appointed   him   to   the   kingdom;   and   the   kings of*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀   35. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

Gu - ti        Mar- tu        Mi- luḥ -ḥe - e

*Arabia(?),*        *Syria*    *and*        *Ethiopia,*

36. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

sa ina ki - bit Assur va      Belat    is   tak - ka - na

*which, by command of Assur and Beltis,*    *my hands*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀   37. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

qata - ai      nap- ḥar su-nu it - ti ya   u - san- kir va

*held;*      *all of them against me he caused to rebel, and*

38. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

it - ti su is - ku - nu pi - i su - un     nisi

*with*    *him*    *they*   *set*   *their faces.*   *The*    *people*   *of*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀   39. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

Ṣipar        Bab - ili        Bar - sip

*Sippara,*        *Babylon,*       *Borsippa,*   *and*

[𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀] 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀   40. [𒀀] 𒀀

[Kutu]     ip - ru - ṣa   aḥ - u - ut      [bit]   duri

*[Kutha,]*   *broke*   *off*    *the*    *brotherhood,*    *and the*   *walls*

𒀀 𒀀    𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

alani     sa - a - tu - nu   mun - taḥ - ẓe - e   su

*of*     *those*     *cities*     *his*    *fighting*    *men*    *he*

41. [𒀀] 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 [𒀀] 𒀀 𒀀

[u] - sat - li - ma   it - ti    ya    [e] - ta - nap

*caused*    *to*    *raise;*    *with*    *me*    *they*    *made*

(v. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀) 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀    42. 𒀀 𒀀 ░░░░

(v. te - ni - ip) - pu-su ta - ḥa- zu      e - pis * * * *

               *war,*          *making* * * * *

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀   43. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

ya la pa - an Bel ablu Bel       nu - ur    Ili

*my, from the face of Bel son of Bel,*     *the light of the Gods*

[cuneiform]

Samas    qu    ra - du      Ninip      iq - su va
*Shamas,    the    warrior    Ninip,    he    revolted;    and*

44. [cuneiform]

u - sab - di - la   * * * *   na - dan   zi - bi   ya
*he caused to cease   * * * *   gift of my fingers,*

45. [cuneiform]

a - na   e - kim   ma - ha - zi   su - bat   Ili   sa
*·to capture the cities, seats of the Gods, of whom*

[cuneiform]      46. [cuneiform]

es - ri   ti su - nu      ud - di - su   u - za - hi - i - nu
*their   temples      I had restored, adorned with*

[cuneiform]      47. [cuneiform]

huraz   va kasap      ki - rib su - nu as - tak - ka - nu
*gold and silver,      and within them had fixed*

(v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]      48. [cuneiform]

(v. na)   si - ma - a - ti   ik - bu - ud   limut   ina
*images;   he   devised   evil.   In*

[cuneiform]

immi su (va)   istin   sapru   ina sat mu - si   u - tul va
*those days, then a seer in the middle of the night, slept and*

49. [cuneiform]

i - na - tal   suttu   um - ma ina   eli   ki - gal - li
*dreamed a dream, thus: " Concerning the matter*

[cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]      50. [cuneiform]

sa   Sin sa - dir (v. di - ir) va      ma - a sa it ti
*which Sin was arranging, and      of them who against*

[cuneiform]      51. [cuneiform]

Assur - bani - pal    sar    Assur      ik bu - du
*Assurbanipal   king of   Assyria,      devised*

limut - tu   ip -pu-su  ẓe - (e)  lu - (u) - tu     mu -u - tu
*evil.    Battle   is   prepared;   a      violent*

lim-nu a - sar -rak su -nu- ti ina  gir  parzil ḥa - an - di
*death I appoint for them.  With the edge of the sword,*

53.  mi - kit   isati     ṣunqu     libit  (v.  li - bit)
*the  burning  of fire, famine, and  the  judgment  of*

Ninip    u - qat - ta - a     54.  nap- sat  ṣu - un
*Ninip,   I   will  destroy    their   lives."*

an - na - a - ti  as -me - e va ad -gil a - na  a -mat Sin
*This   I   heard,  and  trusted  to  the  will  of  Sin*

55.  bel ya ina sassi gar - ri  ya  ad ki  umman  ya
*my lord.  In my sixth expedition I gathered my army;*

56.  ẓir     Saul  -mu- gi - na  us - te - es - se - ra
*against  Saulmugina   I    directed     the*

mur - ra -nu   57.  ki - rib   Ṣipar   Bab- ili
*march.   Within   Sippara,   Babylon,*

Bar - sip     Kutu       58.  sa - a -su  ga - du
*Borsippa,  and  Kutha,      him  and  part*

mun - taḥ - ẓe - e su e - ṣi - ir va  u -ẓab- bit (v. bi- ta)
*of his fighting men I besieged, and captured*

59. [cuneiform]
mu- uz - za su - un   ki - rib   alu va ziru ina la mi - ni
*the whole of them in town and country, without number.*

60. [cuneiform]
as - tak - ka - na    abikta    su si - it - tu - ti
*I    accomplished    his    overthrow.    The    rest,*

61. [cuneiform]
ina    libit      Ninip      su - un - qu   bu bu - ti
*in the judgment of Ninip,     drought    and    famine*

62. [cuneiform]
is - ku - nu na - pis - tu     Um - man- i -gas sar
*passed    their    lives.     Ummanigas   king   of*

[cuneiform]    63. [cuneiform]
Elam         si -kin qati ya   sa da - ha - a - tu
*Elam,        appointed by my hand; who the bribe*

[cuneiform]
im - hu - ru su   it - ba - a ana (v. a - na)   kit - ri su
*received,     and    came    to    his    aid.*

64. [cuneiform]
Tam-ma- ri - tu   zir - us -su ip - pal - kit va sa - a -su
*Tammaritu   against   him   revolted,   and   him*

65. [cuneiform]
ga -du kim- ti su   u - ras (v. ra) - sib su ina    kakki
*and part of his family he destroyed with the sword.*

66. [cuneiform]
arku   Tam-ma- ri - tu   sa   arku    Um -man- i -gas
*Afterwards   Tammaritu,    who    after    Ummanigas,*

67. [cuneiform]
u - si - bu    ina     kuzzu       Elam
*sat    on    the    throne    of    Elam,*

68.    [cuneiform]

la   is - al   su-lum   ṣaru - ti   ya   a - na   ri - ẓu - tu

*did not seek alliance with my kingdom. To the help of*

69.   [cuneiform]

Saul   - mu - gi - na   aḫi   nak - ri

*Saulmugina     my   rebellious   brother*

(v. [cuneiform])     70. [cuneiform]

(v. aḫu   la   ke - e -nu)   il - lik - av -va     a - na

(v. *younger   brother*),   *he   went   and     to*

[cuneiform]

mit - ḫu - ẓi   umman   ya   ur - ri - ḫa   kakki   su

*fight   my   army,   he   prepared   his   soldiers.*

71.   [cuneiform]
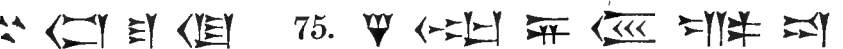
ina   ṣu - up - pe - e   sa Assur va Istar   u - ṣap -pu - u

*In   prayer   to   Assur   and   Ishtar, I   prayed;*

72.   [cuneiform]   (v. [cuneiform])

ta - ni - ḫi   ya   im - ḫu - ru     (v. il - qu - u)

*my   supplications   they   received     (v. took),*

[cuneiform]   73. [cuneiform]

is - mu -u   zi - kar   sapti   ya     In - da - bi - gas

*and heard the words of my lips.     Indabigas*

[cuneiform]   (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]

arad   ṣu   ẓir - us - su ip - pal - kit   (v. ki - tu)   va

*his   servant,   against   him   revolted,     and*

74.   [cuneiform]

ina taḫaz ẓin is -ku - na   abikta su Tam-ma- ri -tu

*in the battlefield accomplished his overthrow.   Tammaritu*

[cuneiform]   75. [cuneiform]

ṣar     Elam     sa   eli   ni - kiṣ   qaqadu

*king   of   Elam,     who over the decapitated head of*

Te - um - man  me - ri - iḫ - tu  ig - bu - u
*Teumman              untruth         had         spoken;*

76. sa  ik - ki - ṣu  a - ḫu  ru - u  umman  ya
*which   he   had   cut   off   in   sight   of   my   army,*

77. um [ma la] ak - ki - ṣu  qaqadu  ṣar  Elam
*thus: "I have [not] cut off the head of the king of Elam*

78. * * * *ina puḫri  umman su sa - ni - ḫa - a - nu ig - bi
    * * * *in the assembly of his army."    Again   he   said:

79. va ᵃ  Um - man - i - gas  ke - e  u - na - aš˙ - siq
*"and        Ummanigas        only,       kissed        the*

qaq - qa - ru        80. ina maḫri        a - mir - i  sa
*ground;*              *in the presence of the envoys of*

Assur - bani - pal  ṣar  Assur        81. eli
*Assurbanipal   king   of   Assyria."       For*

a - ma - a - ti  an - na - a - ti  sa  il - zi - nu
*these         matters,          which  he  had  mocked,*

82. Assur va Istar  i - ri  ḫu ṣu va Tam - ma - ri - tu
*Assur and Ishtar turned from him; and     Tammaritu*

83. aḫi  su  qi - nu su ziri bit abi su it - ti
*his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house with*

𒐏𒌋 𒁹 ⸗𒐊𒐊 𒊑⸗⸗    84. 𒁹 ⸗𒈨𒐊 ⸗ ⸗𒈨𒌋 𒐊 ⸗𒐊 𒈦 ⸗𒀀

85      rubi         a - li -kut idi su la pa- an

*eighty-five princes*     *going before him from the face of*

𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒐊     85. 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊

In - da - bi -gas           in -nab tu- niv - va

*Indabigas*                 *fled,*       *and*

𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒐊 ⸗ 𒀀𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒀀

me - ra - nu us - su - un ina eli lib bi su - nu

*their*     *bitterness*    *within*    *their*      *hearts*

86. 𒐊𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒁹 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊

ib si - lu niv -va    il - lik-u -ni a- di    Ninua

*raged,*      *and*       *they*     *came*      *to*     *Nineveh.*

87. 𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 ⸗𒐊 ⸗𒈨𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 ⸗𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 ⸗𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒐊

Tam-ma- ri - tu niru ṣaru ti ya u - na -as -siq va

*Tammaritu*     *my*     *royal*    *feet*    *kissed,*     *and*

88. 𒈨𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀 𒀀𒐊 (v. 𒈨𒐊) ⸗ 𒀀𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒐊

qaq qa - ru   u -se- sir    (v. sar) ina ziq - ni su

*earth*     *he*    *threw*          *on*    *his*    *hair,*

𒐊 (v. 𒐊) 𒐊 𒀀𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 (v. 𒐊) 𒐊 ⸗𒐊𒐊 𒈨𒐊    89. [𒐊 ⸗𒐊𒐊⸗]

man (v. ma)-za- az     ma (v. man)-sa- ri   ya       [su   u]

*standing*    *at*    *my*    *footstool(?).*       [*He*]

𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒀀 𒈨𒐊

a na   e -pis ardu- ti   ya   ra man su im   nu va

*to*     *do*     *my*     *service,*     *himself*     *set,*

90. 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒐊 ⸗𒐊𒐊 𒀀𒐊 ⸗𒐊 𒐊

as -su e -pis di - ni su a-lak ri - ẓu - ti su

*for the giving of his sentence, and going to his help.*

91. ⸗ 𒀀𒐊 ⸗𒐊𒐊 ⸗𒀀𒐊 𒐊 ⸗𒀀𒐊 𒀀𒐊 ⸗𒐊𒐊 𒈨𒐊 ⸗𒐊 𒐊 ⸗𒐊 𒐊 ⸗𒀀𒐊

ina ki - bit Assur va Istar   u - zal- la - a bel-u- ti

*By the command of Assur and Ishtar, he submitted to my dominion.*

Y

92. 𒀸 𒈢 �procedures 𒅀 𒄿 𒍣 𒍪 �técnica 𒄿 �tal 𒆷 𒇻

ina maḫ ri ya i zi zu va i - tal - la - lu

*In my presence he stood up, and glorified the*

93. �qur �di 𒅍 𒅀 dan -nu -ti sa il - li - ku

qur- di Ili ya dan -nu -ti sa il - li -ku

*might of my powerful Gods, who went to*

𒊑 𒍪 𒋾     94. 𒀀 𒈾 𒆪 Assur-bani- pal lib-bu

ri ẓu - ti     a - na -ku Assur-bani- pal lib-bu

*my help.     I Assurbanipal, of generous*

𒊕 𒊻     95. 𒆷 �ka 𒍣 ik - ki -mu pa- ṣi ṣu

rap -su     la ka - ẓir ik - ki -mu pa- ṣi ṣu

*heart, of defection the remover, forgiver of*

𒄭 �da 𒀀 𒋾     96. 𒀀 𒈾 Tam-ma- ri tu re - e -mu

ḫi - ḍa - a - ti     a - na Tam-ma- ri tu re - e -mu

*sin;     to Tammaritu favour*

𒌷 𒋛 𒋢 �425     97. 𒊓 𒀀 �su ga - du ziri bit abi su

ar - si su va     sa - a - su ga - du ziri bit abi su

*I granted him, and     himself, and part of the seed of his father's*

𒆠 �rib e kal ya     98. ul - ziz ṣu nu - ti ina

ki - rib e kal ya     ul - ziz ṣu nu - ti ina

*house, within my palace     I placed them. In*

im - mi su nisi Akkad     99. sa it - ti

*those days the people of Akkad,     who with*

Saul -mu- gi- na is sak -nu     100. ik bu -du

*Saulmugina were placed,     and devised*

limut ni ip - ri -tu iẓ-bat ṣu -nu ti     101. a- na

*evil; famine took them,     for their*

𒀭 ... 𒀭 ... 𒀭 ...
bu - ri su-nu    ṣeri    abli    su-nu    binti    ṣu-nu
*food    the    flesh    of    their    sons    and    their    daughters*

102. ... 
e    ki    lu    ik - ṣu - ṣu    ku    ru - uṣ    ṣu
*they    did    eat,    and    divided    the    *   *   *   *   **

103. ...
Assur    Sin    Samas    Vul    Bel    Nabu
*Assur,    Sin,    Shamas,    Vul,    Bel,    Nebo,*

104. ...
Istar    sa    Ninua    Il    ṣar - rat    kit - mu - ri
*Ishtar    of    Nineveh,    the    divine    queen    of    Kitmuri,*

105. ...
Istar    sa    Arba    il    Ninip    Nergal    Nusku
*Ishtar    of    Arbela,    Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku,*

106. ...
sa    ina    mah - ri    ya    il - li - ku    i - na - ru
*who    in    my    presence    marched    and    destroyed*

... 107. ...
ga - ri    ya         Saul - mu - gi - na    ahi    nak - ri
*my enemies :         Salmugina    my    rebellious    brother,*

108. ...
sa    i    gi    ra    an - ni    ina    me - kit    isati    a - [ri]    ri
*who    made    war    with    me;    in    the    fierce    burning    fire*

109. ...
id - du    su    va    u - hal - li - qu    nap - sat    ṣu
*they    threw    him,    and    destroyed    his    life.*

110. ...
va    nisi    sa    a - na    Saul - mu - gi - na
*And    the    people    who    to    Saulmugina*

111. aḫi nak - ri u - sak - pi - du
*my rebellious brother, he had caused to join,*

112. ip - se - e tu an - ni - tu limut - tu e pu-su
*and these evil things did;*

113. sa me - tu - tu ib - ba - ḫu nap - sat ṣu nu
*who death deserved, their lives*

114. pa - nu - us -su- un te - bis - u va 115. it - ti
*before them being precious: with*

Saul -mu- gi - na bel su-nu 116. la im qu -tu
*Saulmugina their lord, they did not burn*
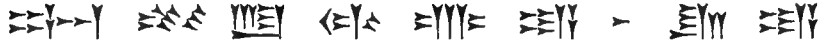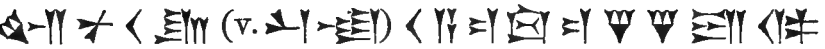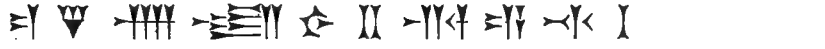
ina isati (la) pa - an ni - kiṣ gir parzil
*in the fire, (from) before the edge of the sword,*

117. ṣu - un - ki (v. qu) bu - bu - ti (v. tu) isati
*dearth, famine, and the burning*
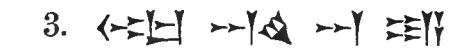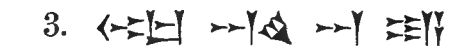
a- ri - ri i - se - tu -u - ni 118. e - ḫu - zu
*fire, they had fled, and taken*

mar - ki - tu [ti] - bu - ut Ili rabati
*refuge. The stroke of the great Gods*

119. beli ya sa la na - par - su - di
*my lords, which was not removed*

120. 𒐸 [cuneiform]
iṣ - ḫu - up   su - nu - ti   e - du   ul   ip   par- sid
*overwhelmed       them.       One     did   not   flee,*

121. [cuneiform]
mul - taḫ - ḍu   ul   u - ẓi   ina   qati   ya
*a   sinner   did   not   escape   from   my   hands,*

122. [cuneiform]
im -nu-u qatu (v. qa - tu) -u a ruqubi       sa- da - di
*my   hands   held [them].   Powerful   war   chariots,*

123. [cuneiform]
ruqubi   zil - li       zik- re - e - ti   su
*covered   chariots,   his   concubines       [and]*


COLUMN V.

1. [cuneiform]
sa - ga   (v. sa - su)   e - kal su   u - bil -u -ni
*the goods (v. furniture) of his palace, they brought*

[cuneiform]   2. [cuneiform]
[a - ḍi]   maḫ - ri   ya       nisi   sa - a - tu - nu
*[to]   my   presence.   Those   men [who]   the*

[cuneiform]   3. [cuneiform]
suq - la - tu   pi - i   su-nu       eli   Assur   Ili   ya
*curses   of their   mouth,   against Assur   my   God*

[cuneiform]   4. [cuneiform]
suq - la - tu   ig - bu - u       [va]   ya - a - ti
*curses       uttered;       [and against] me, the*

[cuneiform]
rubu   pa - laḫ su   ik - bu   du - ni   limut - tu
*prince   his   worshipper,   had   devised   evil:*

5. [cuneiform]
lisan su-nu aš-lu-uk abikta su-nu aš-kun
*their tongues I pulled out, their overthrow I accomplished.*
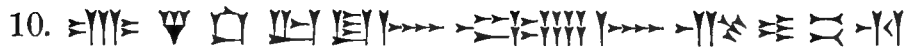
6. [cuneiform]
ṣi-it-ti nisi bal ḍu-ṣun ina sedi alapi
*The rest of the people alive among the stone lions and bulls,*
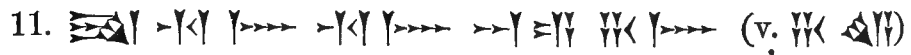
7. [cuneiform]
sa Sin-aḥi irba abu abi bani ya ina
*which Sennacherib the grandfather my begetter, in the*
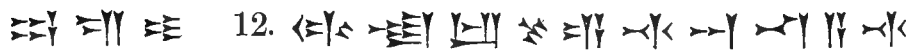
[cuneiform]
lib-bi iṣ-pu-nu    8. e-nin-na a-na-ku ina
*midst had thrown;*    *again*    *I*    *in*
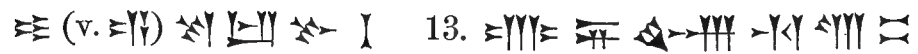
[cuneiform]
ki-iz-pi su nisi sa-a-tu-nu    9. ina lib-bi
*that pit,*    *those*    *men*    *in the midst*
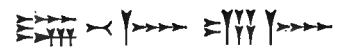
[cuneiform]
aš-pu-un ṣeri nu-uk-ku-ṣu-(u)-ti
*threw.*    *The*    *limbs*    *cut*    *off*
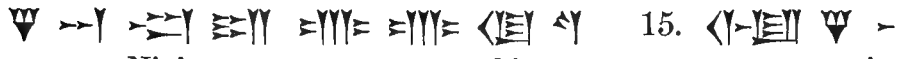
10. [cuneiform]
u-sa-kil kalbi dabi zi-i bi-ḥu
*I caused to be eaten by dogs,*   *bears(?),*   *eagles(?),*
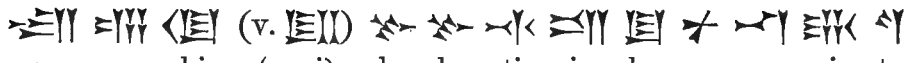
11. [cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform])
id-ḥu-i izzuri same nuni (v. nuni)
*vultures(?), birds of heaven, and fishes of the*
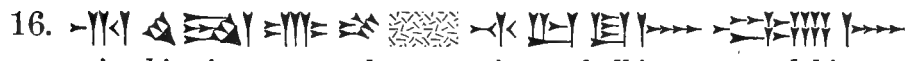
[cuneiform]    12. [cuneiform]
ab-ṣi-i    ul-tu ip-se-e-ti an-na-a-ti
*deep.*    *By*    *these*    *things*

[cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]    13. [cuneiform]
i (v. e)-te ep-pu-su    u-ni-iḥ-ḥu lib-bi
[*which*] *were done,*    *I satisfied the hearts of the*

𒀀𒁍 𒄖𒁲 𒁁𒇷 𒅀 14. 𒉣 𒅀 𒁹 𒈾 𒉌
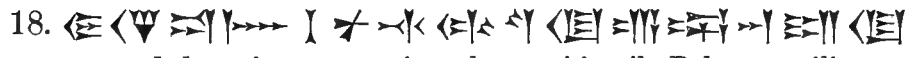
Ili     rabati    beli   ya              pagari      nisi
*great   Gods    my   lords.*        *The  bodies  of  the  men*

𒀀 𒀭 𒊬 𒁁𒇷 𒉌𒉌 𒉌𒉌 𒁁 𒅀    15. 𒅖𒁁 𒀀 𒀀
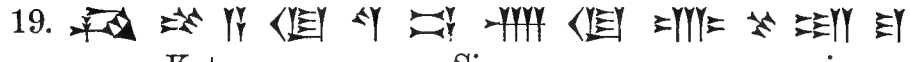
sa     Ninip      u  - sam   ki - tu              va     sa  ina
*whom   Ninip    had     destroyed,*             *and  who  in*

𒋢𒅔 𒄖𒁁 𒁁 (v. 𒁁𒁹) 𒀀 𒀀 𒀜 𒅖 𒁉 𒊊 𒀭 𒉌𒈾 𒅀
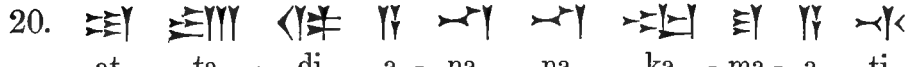
su - un - ki   (v. qi)   bu - bu - ti   is -ku -nu   na -pis -tu
*drought   and    famine    had    passed    their    lives;*

16. 𒀀𒁍 𒀭 𒄖 𒅖 𒀀 ░░░░ 𒀀 𒁉 𒁉𒇷 𒉌 𒁕𒁉
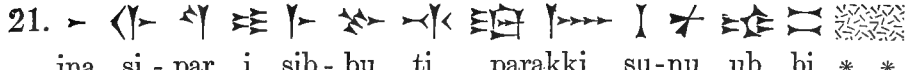
ri - hi - it   u  -gab * *  ti      kalbi     dabi
* * * * * * * * * *     *dogs,     bears,*

17. 𒀀 𒆳 𒀭 𒁉 𒁁 ░░░░░░ 𒅀 𒁁 𒀭𒅖 𒈾 𒀀𒁉
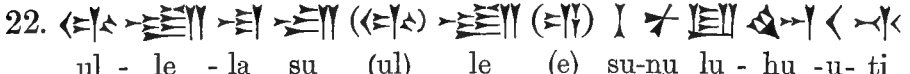
sa -tur- i   bur- ru * * * *  iz -lu -u   ri -ba -a - ti
*saturi,    burru   * * * *    grew(?)   fat.*

18. 𒉈𒊏𒁺 𒁹 𒋢𒉌 𒁉 𒌌 𒁲 𒆠 𒋛𒁁 𒁹 𒁁 𒀭

ner-pad-du   i  su-nu - ti   ul -tu   ki -rib Bab -       ili
*Their    attendants   from    the    midst   of    Babylon,*

19. 𒆪𒌇 𒀭 𒁉 𒁁 𒅀 𒁕 𒀭 𒁁 𒉌 𒀀 𒉌𒉌 𒅀

Kutu               Sipar               u  -se   zi   va
*Kutha    and    Sippara,   I    brought    out*

20. 𒀜 𒋫 𒁲 𒀀 𒈾 𒈾 𒁀 𒈠 𒀀 𒁉

at     ta - di   a - na      na    ka -ma - a - ti
*and         placed       in       slavery.*

21. 𒀀 𒋛 𒁉 𒉌 𒀀 𒁉 𒊬 𒉌 𒅆 𒁉 ░░░

ina  si - par  i  sib- bu  ti   parakki  su-nu  ub  bi  * *
*In  splendour,  the  seats  of  their  sanctuaries  I  built(?).*

22. 𒌌 𒇷 𒆷 𒋢 (𒌌) 𒇷 (𒂊) 𒋢𒉌 𒇻 𒄷 𒌋 𒁉

ul - le - la   su   (ul)   le   (e)  su-nu  lu - hu -u - ti
*I     raised     their    glorious(?)      towers.*

23. 𒀭 𒀭 𒁹 𒐀 𒌋 𒊹 𒐲 𒀭 𒐌 𒀭 𒁹 𒐀
    Ili    su- nu   zi - nu -u - ti    Istari   su - nu
  *Their*   *Gods*   *dishonoured(?),*   *their*   *Goddesses*

sap - sa - a - ti    24.   u - ni - iḫ  ina tak - kal · ti
*desecrated (?),*      *I*   *rested*   *in*   *purple*

va    unninnu (?)    25.   vad-duk - ki  su - un  sa
*and*   *hangings(?).*     *Their  institutions,  which*

i - mi - ẓu   ki - ma (v. kima)  sa  im  mi  ul  lu -u - ti
*they*   *had*   *removed,*  *like*  *in*  *days*  *of*  *old,*

26.   ina  sal - mi  (v. me)  u - tir  va  u - kin
     *in*   *peace*   *I*   *restored*   *and*   *settled.*

27.   si  it - ti  abli  Bab - ili  ·  Kutu
    *The*  *rest*  *of*  *the*  *sons*  *of*  *Babylon,*  *Kuthu,*

28.   Ṣipar   sa ina sib - di  sak  bi - ti
  *and*  *Sippara,*   *who*  *under*  *chastisement,*  *suffering,*

29.   va  ni - ip  ri - ti  i -se- tu -u-ni   30.  re - e - mu
  *and*  *privation*  *had*  *fled;*    *favour*
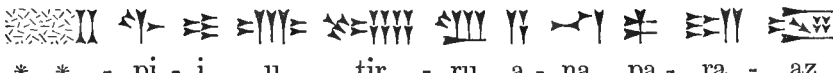
ar - si  su - nu - ti  ba - laḍ  napis- ti  su - nu  ag - bi
*I granted*  *them,*  *the saving*  *of*  *their*  *lives*  *I*  *commanded:*
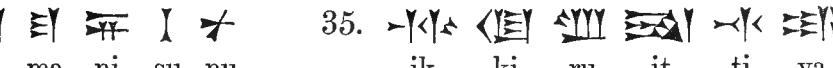
31.   ki  rib  Bab - ili  u - se -sib  su - nu - ti
     *in*   *Babylon*   *I*   *seated*   *them.*

32.
nisi Akkad ga du Kal du
*The people of Akkad, and some of Chaldea,*

A - ra (v. ru) - mu 33. tam - ti
*Aram and the sea;*

sa Saul - mu - gi - na ik - tir - u va
*whom Saulmugina had gathered,*
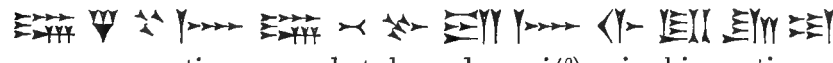
34.
\* \* - pi - i u tir - ru a - na pa - ra - az
*\* \* returned to their own*
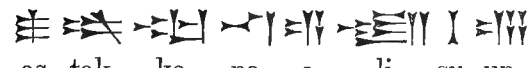
ra - ma - ni su - nu 35. ik - ki - ru it - ti ya
*districts. They revolted against me.*
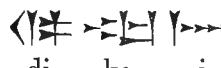
ina ki - bit Assur va Belat 36. va Ili rabati
*By command of Assur and Beltis and the great Gods*

tig - li ya a - na pat gim ri su - nu ak - bu us
*my protectors, on the whole of them I trampled,*

37. niru Assur sa iz - lu u e - mid su nu - ti
*the yoke of Assur which they had thrown off, I fixed on them;*

38. sanuti bat - bu da i(?) si - kin qati ya
*prefects and rulers appointed by my hand,*

39. as - tak - ka - na e li su - un 40. di ka i
*I established over them. The institutions*

z

gi - ne - e  (v. nu - u)   ris    i   Assur  va        Belat
*and    high    ordinances(?)    of    Assur    and    Beltis,*

41.
va   .    Ili         Assur      u   kin   zir - us -su- un
*and    the    Gods    of    Assyria,    I    fixed upon    them;*

42.                                                        43.
bil - tu  man- da   at - ti  belu- ti  ya         mat- ti
*taxes    and    tribute    to    my    dominion,        of the country*

sum -ma  la    na -par- ka - a   e -mid  su -nu- ti
*the    sum    undiminished    I    fixed    on    them.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN VI, LINE 93, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 87.

93.
Um -man- i -gas sa  da - ab -tu ma- ha - as    su
*Ummanigas,        whom,    great    benefits    I*

e - bu -su- us                 94.      as  ku - nu - us  a - na    saru - ut
*had given him,*                *and appointed him to the kingdom of*
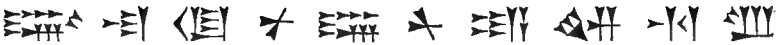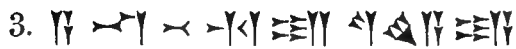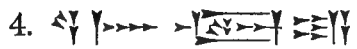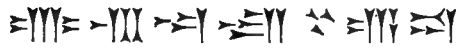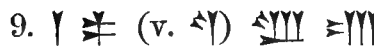
Elam            95.   sa  damqa- ti  la  ha - as - su
*Elam;*                *who    the    favour    disregarded,    and*

96.
la  iz - zu - ru  a - de - e  ma -mit   Ili      rabati
*did not keep the agreement and oath of the great Gods.*

97.
ul - tu  qati      a - mir - i      Saul  -mu- gi - na
*From    the    hands    of    the    messengers    of    Saulmugina*

## Column VII.

1. 𒀀𒄷 𒆷 𒆠 𒉡 𒈨𒋛𒊑 𒅀 𒅎 𒄷-𒊒
   aḫu la ke nu nakiri ya im ḫu - ru
   *my younger brother, my enemy, he received a*

𒁕 𒄩 𒌅    2. 𒂊 𒈬-𒄰𒋛 𒀉 𒋾 𒋢-𒌦 𒅖-𒉺-𒊏
   da - ha - tu    e - mu - qi su it - ti su - un is - pu - ra
   *bribe.*    *His forces with them he sent*

3. 𒀀 𒈾 𒈪𒌓-𒄭-𒍣 𒌝𒈠𒀭 𒅀    4. 𒊍𒄿 𒍝𒁉 𒋫𒄩𒊍 𒅀
   a - na mit - ḫu - ẓi umman ya    ẓabi taḫaz ya
   *to fight my army,*    *my men of war,*

𒊭 𒄿𒈾 𒃶 𒂃 𒈾-𒅀-𒊍    5. 𒀉 𒋫 𒈾 𒀠 𒆷 𒆪
   sa ina Gan - dun - ya - as    it ta - na - al - la - ku
   *who in Ganduniyas*    *marched, and*

𒌋 𒆳 𒁀 𒋢 �types 𒄭    6. 𒅎 𒂊𒉺 𒄿 𒁲 𒍣 𒅕
   u - kib - ba - ẓu Kal - du    ina la i - di ẓi - ir
   *trampled on Chaldea.*    *Against my hand(?) unto*

𒌦 𒁕 𒍣    7. 𒀊𒇻 𒋼 𒌝 𒈠𒀭 �........ 𒉏
   Un - da - ẓi    ablu Te - um - man ṣar Elam
   *Undasi*    *son of Teumman king of Elam,*

8. 𒈲 𒍝𒍝𒊍 𒉌𒊒 𒉈 - 𒆷 - 𒋾
   va Zazaz niru Bil - la - te
   *and Zazaz chief of Billate,*

9. 𒉺 (v. 𒈸)- 𒊒 𒌋 𒉌𒊒 𒄭 - 𒅋 - 𒈬
   Pa (v. par) - ru u niru Ḫi - il - mu
   *Paru chief of Hilmu,*

10. 𒀜 - �templesta - 𒈪 - 𒌅 �niš �art 𒈪𒆎𒉺𒉡    11. 𒉈 𒂊 - 𒋢
    At - ta - mi - tu nis rab mitpanu    Ne - e - su
    *Attametu commander of the archers,*    *and Nesu*

a - lik pa - ni umman sa　　Elam　　　12. a - na mit-ḫu- ẓi
*leader　of　the　army　of　Elam,　　　　to　　fight*

it - ti　umman　　　Assur　　　13. Um -man- i -gas
*with　the　army　of　Assyria,　　　　Ummanigas*

u -ma- hi - ir　su-nu- ti　　　14. is - kun　su-nu- ti
*sent　them,　and　　　　appointed　them*

ḍe - e -mu　　　15. Um -man- i -gas a - na　Un- da- ẓi
*a decree.　　Ummanigas　to　Undasi,*

ki - a- am　ig - bi　　　16. um -ma　a - lik　ul - tu
*even　said,　　　　thus:　Go;　against*

Assur　　　17. tir - ra　tuk-te - e abi ba - ni　ki
*Assyria　　revenge the slaying of the father thy begetter.*

18. Un - da - ẓu　·　Za- za- az　　Pa- ru - u
*Undasu,　　Zazaz,　　Paru,*

19. At - ta -mi- tu　Ne - e su.　　20. it - ti
*Attamitu　and　Nesu,　　　　with*

a - mir - i　sa　　　Saul - mu - gi - na
*the　messengers　of　　Saulmugina*

21. aḫu　nak - ri　ur - ḫu　iẓ -[bat - u - niv - va]
*my　rebellious　brother;　took　the　road,　and*

22. 𒀭 𒀭 𒐊 𒀀 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    23. 𒀭 𒀭
us - te - es - sir - u - ni    mur - ra - nu                zabi
*directed*        *the*        *march.*                        *My men*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
tahaz        ya        sa     ina            Gan - dun - ya - as
*of*        *war,*     *who*    *in*                *Ganduniyas*

24. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 [𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
it - ta - na - al - la - ku    u - [kib - ba - su
        *marched,*        *and*        *trampled*        [*on*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭]    25. ▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨        26. ▨▨▨▨▨
Kal - du]                *  *  *  *  *  *  *                *  *  *  *.
*Chaldea*]                *  *  *  *  *  *  *                *  *  *  *

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    27. ▨▨▨▨▨▨▨ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
Elam                        *  *  *  *  *    At - ta - mi - tu
*Elam*                        *  *  *  *  *        *Attamitu*

28. ▨▨▨▨▨▨        [𒀭 𒀭 𒀭]    𒀭 𒀭    𒀭
*  *  *  *  *  *        [ik - ki] - su - niv - va
*  *  *  *  *.*        *they*        *cut*        *off*        *and*

29. [𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭]    𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
[u - bil - u - ni    a - di]    mah - ri        ya
[*brought*        *to*]        *my*        *presence.*

30. ▨▨▨▨▨▨ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    31. ▨▨▨▨▨▨
*  *  *  *  *  *    an - na - a - ti        *  *  *  *  *  *
*  *  *  *  *        *these*                *  *  *  *  *  *

𒀭 𒀭 𒐊 𒀭 𒀭    32. ▨▨▨▨▨▨ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
Um - man - i - gas                *  *  *  *  *  *    si    ik - la    va
*Ummanigas*                        *  *  *  *  *  *    *he ceased and*

33. ▨▨▨▨▨▨ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭    34. ▨▨▨▨▨▨
*  *  *  *  *  *    ti    a - mat ya        *  *  *  *  *  *
*  *  *  *  *  *        *my    will*                *  *  *  *  *  *

[Assur] Bel Nabu Nergal    35. Ili [rabati
[*Assur*], *'Bel, Nebo and Nergal,*    *the* [*great*] *Gods*

beli ya] di - in kit - ti    36. it - ti
[*my lords;*] *a certain judgment*    *against*

Um -man-i-gas i - di -nu in - ni    37. Tam-ma- ri - tu
*Ummanigas, appointed me.*    *Tammaritu,*

zir - us - su ip - pal - kit va    38. sa-a-su ga - du
*against him revolted, and*    *him and part*

kim - ti su u - ra - ṣib ina kakki
*of his family, he destroyed with the sword.*
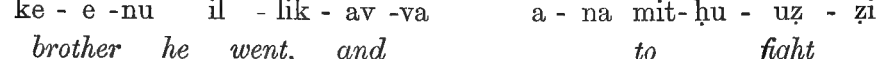
39. Tam-ma- ri - tu sa e - la sa-a-su iq - ẓu
*Tammaritu who over him triumphed,*
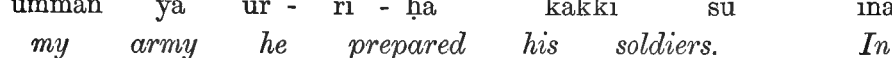
40. u -sib ina kuzzu Elam    41. ki -ma
*sat on the throne of Elam.*    *Like*
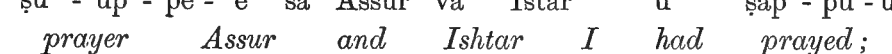
sa - a-su va da - ha -a-tu im - ḫar    42. ul is - al
*him also, a bribe he received;*    *he did not seek*
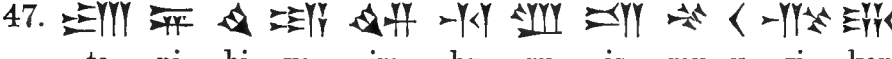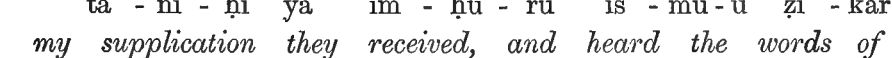
su - lum ṣaru - ti ya    43. a - na ri - ẓu - tu
*alliance with my kingdom.*    *To the help*
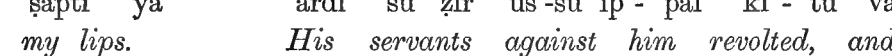
(v. kit - ri) Saul -mu- gi - na    44. aḫu la
(v. *aid*) *of Saulmugina*    *my younger*
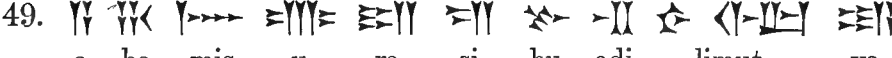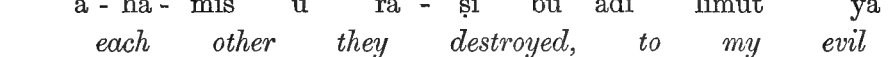
𒐕𒐕 ke - e -nu    il - lik - av -va     45.   a - na mit-ḫu - uẓ - ẓi

*brother*    *he*    *went, and*        *to*     *fight*
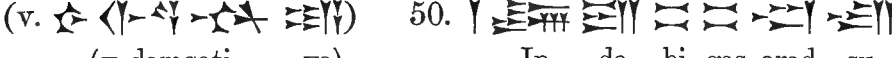
umman    ya    ur - ri - ḫa    kakki    su      46.    ina

*my*    *army*    *he*   *prepared*   *his*   *soldiers.*    *In*
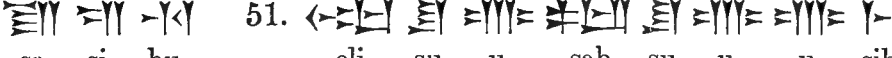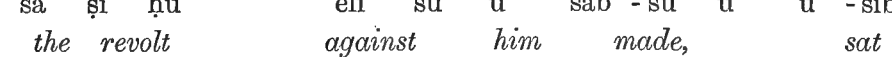
ṣu - up - pe - e   sa   Assur   va   Istar    u    ṣap - pu - u

*prayer*    *Assur*   *and*   *Ishtar*   *I*   *had*   *prayed;*
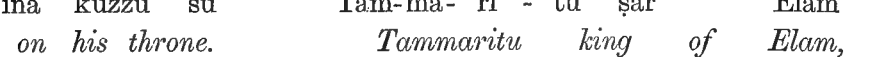
47.   ta - ni - ḫi   ya   im - ḫu - ru   is - mu - u   ẓi - kar

*my*   *supplication*   *they*   *received, and*   *heard*   *the*   *words of*

ṣapti   ya     48.   ardi   su   ẓir   us -su ip - pal   ki - tu   va

*my lips.*      *His*   *servants*   *against*   *him*   *revolted, and*

49.   a - ha - mis   u   ra - ṣi   bu   adi   limut    ya

*each*    *other*    *they*   *destroyed,*   *to*   *my*   *evil*

(v. damqati     ya)     50.   In.   da - bi -gas arad   ṣu

(v. *benefit.*)           *Indabigas his servant, who*
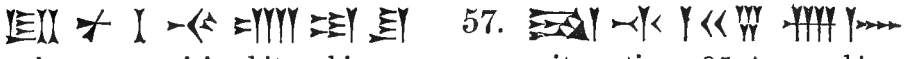
sa   ṣi   ḫu     51.   eli   su   u   sab - su   u   u - sib

*the*   *revolt*      *against*   *him*   *made,*     *sat*

ina   kuzzu   su     52.   Tam-ma- ri - tu   ṣar     Elam

*on*   *his*   *throne.*     *Tammaritu*   *king*   *of*   *Elam,*
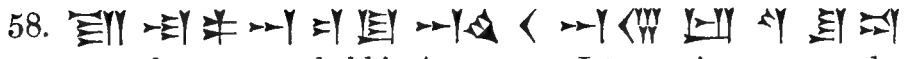
53.   sa   mi - ri - iḫ - tu   ig - bu - u     54.   eli

*who*    *untruth*   *had*   *spoken,*       *concerning*

ni - kis    qaqadu    Te - um - man      55.    sa   ik - ki   ṣu

*the decapitated head of Teumman;*    *which he had cut off*
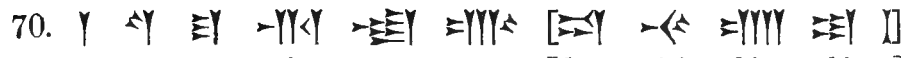
a - ḫu - ru - u   umman   ya      56.   va    aḫi    su

   *in sight of my army:*      *and his brothers,*
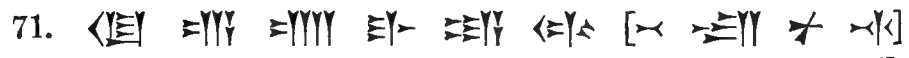
qi - nu su ziri bit abi su      57.   it - ti   85 '   rubi

*his kin, the seed of his father's house,*    *with eighty-five princes of*

Elam      a - li - kut   i - di      (v. )   idi   su

*Elam,*      *marching*      *before*      *him;*

58.   sa   la   pa- an   kakki   Assur   va   Istar    ip - par - su - du

*who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled,*

va    (59 to 68 lost.)    69.      * * * e   a   * * * * *

*and*      * * * * * * * * * * *
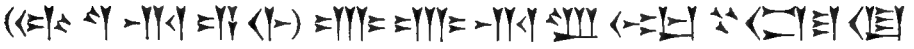
70.   Tam - ma - ri - tu    ga - [du   ziri   bit   abi su]

   *Tammaritu and part [of the seed of his fathers house]*

71.   ki - rib   e - kal   ya   ul - [ziz   ṣu - nu - ti]

   *in my palace I placed [them].*

72.   In - da - bi - gas   sa   arku   Tam - ma - ri - tu

   *Indabigas who after Tammaritu,*

73.   u - si - bu   ina    kuzzu      Elam

   *sat on the throne of Elam;*

74. 𒁹 ... da - na an kakki ya e mur va 75. ... sa
*the power of my servants saw, whom*
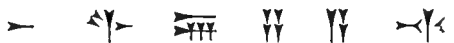
(ul -tu re e - si) u - sam ri ru eli Elam
*(from the first) I had caused to march over Elam.*

76. ... abli Assur sa as pu ra 77. a na
*The sons of Assur, whom I sent to*

kit - ri Nabu -bel- zikri 78. ablu Maruduk -bal- iddina
*aid Nebobelzikri the son of Merodachbaladan,*

sa ki -ma ip - ri tap- pe e a 79. na zir mata su
*who like an earth-wall guarding his country,*

it ta na - al la ku it - ti su 80. sa
*marched with him; whom*
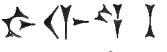
Nabu bel - zikri ina pi ir za - ạ - ti
*Nebobelzikri by treachery*

81. uẓ (v. u) -ẓab- bi - tu u - bi lu it ti su ina
*had captured, and taken with him in a*

ki - li 82. In - da bi -gas ṣar Elam
*boat. Indabigas king of Elam,*
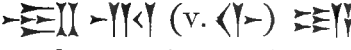
83. ul - tu bit abi [su] u - se - ẓa - as - su - nu - ti
*from the house of [his] fathers sent them.*

2 A

84. 〈cuneiform〉

  ki  i  ẓa-bat ab - bu  [u -ma- hi  ir    rak]-be- e

    *When* [*their*] *capture* I *commanded,* [*he sent his*] *good*

〈cuneiform〉    85. 〈cuneiform〉
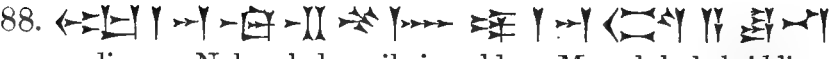
damqati su      la ḥa- de  [e  ul  tu  me]- ṣir mati su

*messengers,*    *sorrowfully* [*from the*] *border of his country.*

86. 〈cuneiform〉

  ina qati      a - mir su  [a - na  sa  kan  a - de   e]

  *By  the  hand  of  his  envoy,* [*to  make  agreement*]

〈cuneiform〉    87. 〈cuneiform〉

va  ṣu  lum - me - e      u  se  bi - la  a - di

*and   alliance ;*        *he   sent    to*

〈cuneiform〉
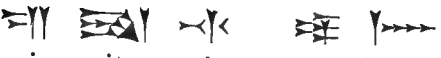
maḥ  ri  (v.mahri)  ya

*my   presence.*

CONTINUED ON CYLINDER C.

88. 〈cuneiform〉

  eli     Nabu -bel- zikri  ablu  Maruduk -bal- iddina

   *About   Nebobelzikri  son  of  Merodachbaladan,*

89. 〈cuneiform〉    90. 〈cuneiform〉

ardu  da - gil pa - ni  ya      sa  in - nab - tu

*tributary dependent on me ;*     *who  fled,*

〈cuneiform〉    91. 〈cuneiform〉

il  li  ku a - na     Elam     va

  *and   went   to   Elam :*     *and*

〈cuneiform〉    92. 〈cuneiform〉

ṣi - it  ti    abli     Assur     sa

*the  rest  of  the  sons  of   Assur,*    *whom*

Nabu - bel zikri ina pi - ir - za - a ti
*Nebobelzikri*     *by*     *treachery*

93. u -zab- bi tu u bi lu it ti su   94. ina
*had captured, and taken with him.*    *By the*

qati a - mir su a - na In da bi-gas   95. ki - a - am
*hand of his envoy to Indabigas,*     *even I*

as- pur su va   96. [as]-su nisi sa- a- tu -nu- (te) la
*sent to him also,*    *If those men thou dost not*

tu - se- bi -la   97. um -ma al la -kav -va alani ka
*send,*    *thus; I will march; thy cities*

a- na - qar   98. nisi Su- sa - an Ma-dak- tu
*I will destroy;*    *the people of Shushan, Madaktu and*

Ḫi- da - lu a -sal-lal   99. [ul] tu kuzzu ṣaru ti
*Hidalu, I will carry off;*    *from thy royal throne,*
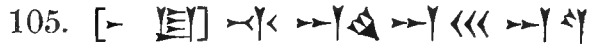
ka a -dak - ki ka va   100. [sa] nam -ma ina kuzzu
*I will hurl thee; and*    *another on thy throne,*
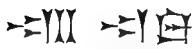
ka u -[se -sib]   101. * * mis ina pan Te um -man
*I will seat.*    *As, formerly Teumman*

u sap ri - ku   102. u sam ḫar ka
*I crushed;*    *I will cause to destroy thee,*
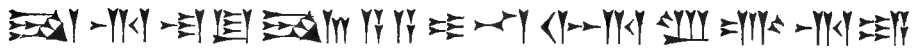
ka - a - ta
*[this is] to thee.*

103. [su]- u          a - mir su ma- ḫar su
*He,      his      envoy    before    him*
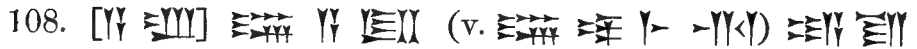
la  i - bi - sa - du
*did   not   come,*

104. [la]   u   sa - an - nu su si   kin
*did [not] repeat  to him the fixing*
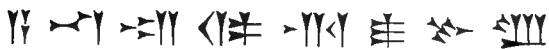
de    e - mi  ya
*of  my  will.*

105. [ina tugul]- ti  Assur   Sin   Samas
*[In] the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,*
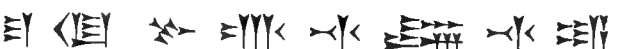
Bel    Nabu
*Bel,   Nebo,*

106. [Istar  sa]   Ninua   Istar   sa
*[Ishtar of ]  Nineveh,  Ishtar  of*

Arba- il   Ninip   Nusku   Nergal
*Arbela,   Ninip,  Nusku and Nergal,*

107. sa
*who*
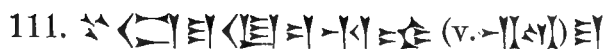
it   tal  la - ku  ida   ai   i - na   ar   ru  ga - ri  ya
*march   before   me,   and   destroy   my   enemies ;*
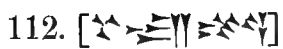
108. [a - lak]   a - mir   (v. (a(?)-mi  ri)  ya  sa
*[of   the   journey]   of   my   envoy,   whom*

a - na   Di - ri   as  pu   ru
*to   Diri   I   had   sent ;*

109. [is] -mu- u
*[they] heard*

ki  rib   Elam.   pu  luḫ  ti  ṣaru  ti  ya
*in   Elam.   The   fear  of   my   kingdom,*

110. [sa   u - za - hi] -nu  in - ni   Ili   rabati
*[which   was]  preserved  to  me  by  the  great Gods ;*

111. 𒀸 𒀭𒂗𒇲𒊑𒌨𒍢 (v. 𒄷𒌑) 𒌑    112. [𒀸 𒆳𒋢 𒋩]

Elam   is-hu-up  (v. hup) va    [mat ṣu  zir]

*Elam   overwhelmed,    and    [his country against]*

𒅔 𒁕-𒁉-𒄒 𒅁 𒉺�louder 𒆠 𒌅 𒀭𒅀    113. 𒉌 𒈾 𒆗 𒍑

In   da-bi-gas  ip  pal  ki  tu      i  na  ru  us

*Indabigas        revolted,      and they destroyed him*

𒅔     𒃶𒆠    114. 𒌝-𒈠𒀭-𒀠-𒁕    𒋾 𒀊𒇻.

ina      kakki       Um-man-al-da    ṣi ablu.

*with  the  sword.         Ummanaldasi    son  of*

𒀜-𒋫-𒈪-𒌅    115. 𒌋 �춰-𒁍 𒅔 𒆳𒍪 𒋢

At-ta-mi-tu       u  si-bu ina  kuzzu  su

*Attamitu,        sat  on  his  throne.*

DATE AT CLOSE OF A PROCLAMATION TO THE BABYLONIANS,
K, 84.
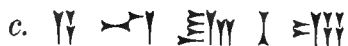
Araḫ Airu immi 23    lim  mu  Assur- dur -uzur

*Month  Iyyar,  twenty-thrid  day,  eponym  Assurduruzur.*
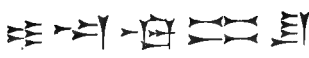
Sa -mas-balaḏ- ṣu - ig -bi  it  ta - bel

*Shamasbaladsuigbi        brought  [it].*

OMEN TABLET FRAGMENT.
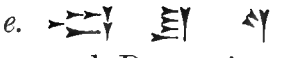
a.    A - na       Babili     i - tir - ru

*To        Babylon     they     turned,*

b.  Saul  -mu- gi - na       c.  a - na  qati su- un

*Saulmugina              to  their  hands  they*
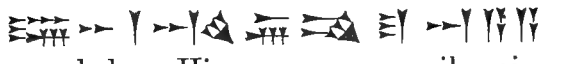
i - ba   aq   qu   su        *d.*   summi      *e.*   araḫ Duvazu immi
*drew  him  away(?).*        *Omens.*          *Month  Tammuz,*

27       lim - mu   Assur - dur - uẓur        *f.*   Bel   u   sal - lim
*twenty-seventh day, eponym Assurduruzur.*          *Belusallim*

ḫal   Ḫi - ṣa - am - ma - il   ai        *g.*   ina adi   ḍe   e   mi
*the   ḫal   and   Hisammailai,*              *at       command*

ina   lib - e   kal   esse   e - tap - pu - su
*in   the   midst   of   the   new   palace   made.*


PASSAGE AT THE CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 159.

*a.*   Nabu - bel - zikri        tam - ti - ai        *b.*   la   naẓir
       *Nebobelzikri      the      seaman*                *disregards the*

ḍabtu   Assur-bani-pal sar   Assur        *c.*   bin - ut  qati  ka  bel  su
*benefits of Assurbanipal king of Assyria the work of thy hands his lord,*

sa   ni   is  sumi  ka   rab - a        *d.*   qa  lis  iz - kur - u   va
*who the worship of thy great name*           *always celebrated and*

i - mi - su  sal - dis        *e.*   i   nin - na   Assur - bani - pal   ṣar
*is valiant martially.*        *Again,*          *Assurbanipal    king of*

Assur        *f.*   pa - luḫ   ka   is - mu - u   va        *g.*   um - ma
*Assyria*        *thy worshipper has heard  also*                *this:*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *h.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

mitpanu ina        Elam        up taḫ - ḫar   illiku (?)

*"The archers in Elam*        *have gathered and marched*

*i.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *j.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

itti ẓabi   id -dan sa   Assur -bani-pal   sar Assur

*with the men belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria,*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *k.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

lu u     Assur   ai      lu   u   Akkad

*the Assyrians,*       *the Akkadians,*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *l.* 𒀀 𒀀

lu u     kal - da   ai      lu   u

*the · Chaldeans,*      *and the*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *m.* 𒀀 𒀀

Gun dun   i sa niri   Assur-bani-pal   bin - ut

*Gandunians, who the yoke of Assurbanipal   the work*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *n.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

qati ka * * tu ana epes kakki qabal   va taḥaz

*of thy hands have rejected(?) to make fighting, war   and battle*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *o.* 𒀀 𒀀

itti su nu im mah ḫa a-ẓa      ul ḍabu

*with them he was prepared.*   *Not good,*

*p.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

e -ẓib sa-du va lu   u   ina mi- ṣir   sa   Elam

*excepting the mountain which is in the border of Elam,*

*q.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *r.* 𒀀 𒀀

lu u ina mi- ṣir   sa mati su uzzizu   va   lu   u

*which along the border of his country joined, and   which*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *s.* 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

a- na pul- luḫ lu   u   a- na   ẓa-bat qati   va mi- ṣir

*through fearing to be captured in hand,*   *the border*

𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀    t. 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀

la  ip - pal  ak  ki - ta      araḫ  Nisannu  immi     4

*did       not      revolt.       Month  Nisan,  fourth day,*

𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀    u. 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

lim - mu    Ṣa - gab        Assur - da    in  - sar    Dan - ai

*eponym     Sagab,           Assurdainsar    and    Danai*

𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀    v. 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

bel  ku        saptu  lib    e    kal    esse    e - tap-su

*the belku        in    the    new    palace    made.*


PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4696.


a. [𒀀𒀀] 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀    b. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

Sin  - tab- ni  uzur        ablu      Nin - gal-iddina

*Sintabniuzur              son    of      Ningaliddina,*

c. [𒀀𒀀] 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀    d. [𒀀𒀀] 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀
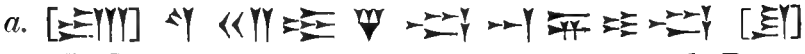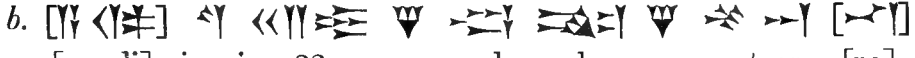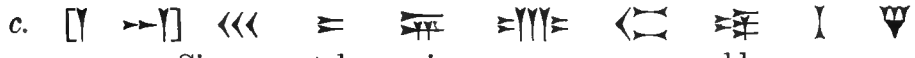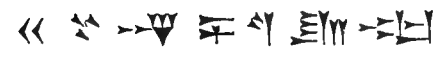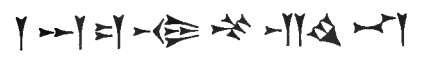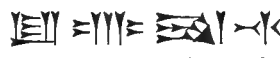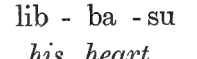
[sa] ana  eli              Ur          [ip]  pi - kit  pi  su

*[who]   over              Ur          was appointed, his face*

𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀    e. [𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀] 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀

va  lib  su        [it  ti]    . Saul    -mu- gi    na  * * *

*and his heart      [with]          Saulmugina          * * **


REVERSE.


[𒀀𒀀] 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 [𒀀 𒀀]
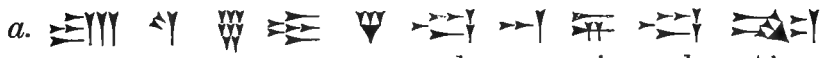
araḫ    Abu  immi    11    lim - mu    [Ṣa - gab]

*Month  Ab,  eleventh  day,  eponym  [Sagab]*

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 28.

*a.* [𒋫] immi 22 sa araḫ an - ni i araḫ Duvazu

*From the twenty-second day of this month, the month Tammuz,*

*b.* [a - di] immi 22 sa araḫ abu sa sanat an - [na]

*[to] the twenty-second day of the month Ab of this year.*

*c.* . Sin tab ni u ẓur ablu su sa

*Sintabniuzur,* *his* *son* *of*

*d.* Nin - gal - iddina it - ti *e.* [Assur] - bani - pal

*Ningaliddina,* *with* *Assurbanipal*

ṣar Assur binut qati ka *f.* ✳✳✳✳ i - ru it - ti

*king of Assyria, the work of thy hands* ✳ ✳ ✳ *[made war(?)] with*

Saul - mu - gi - na *g.* ✳✳✳✳ lu u it - ti

*Saulmugina* ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ *with*

*h.* ✳✳✳✳ lib - ba - su

✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ *his heart.*

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 1360.

*a.* Ultu immi 8 sa araḫ an - ni araḫ Abu

*From the eighth day of this month, the month Ab,*

*b.* 𒑱𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
     a- di immi   7   sa arah Ululu   zabi     Elami
     *to the seventh day of the month Elul.*    *The men of Elam*

*c.* 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
     up   tah   ha   ru    u      uk   taz   za   ru - u
     *gathered,*      *set*      *in*      *order,*     *and*

*d.* 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱      *e.* 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
     illikuni(?)   kakki   qabal   va   tahaz      itti     zabi
     *marched(?) fighting battle and war*      *with the men*

𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱    *f.* 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
     id -dan sa   Assur-bani-pal   sar    Assur    ib - bu-su - u
     *belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria, was made.*

𒑱 𒑱 𒑱      *g.* 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱    ▨▨▨▨
     ul    dabu       sar    Dan - ai -ablu   * * * * * *
     *Not good.*      *From Danai son of* * * * * *

*h.* 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
     bil   ku(?) arah Ululu immi   7   lim -mu   Sa-gab
     *the bilku(?) month Elul seventh day, eponym Sagab.*

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4.

*a.* [𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱] 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
     [Saul]     - mu - gi - na     ahu lakenu (?)
     *[Saul]mugina*       *the younger brother*

*b.* ▨▨▨▨ 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱    *c.* ▨▨▨ 𒑱 𒑱
     * * * *   i   dal   la - hu   va      * * *   rab - u
     * * * *   *he embroiled and*      * * *   *great*

𒑱 𒑱 ▨▨      *d.* ▨▨▨ 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
     i   bu   * *      * * *   un - ni   i   la   dabu   a-bu
     * * * *       * * *   * * *    *not*    *good*
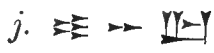
*e.* 　　　　　ki　na　　Assur　bani - pal　ṣar　　Assur

　　 * * * *　 * *　　　*Assurbanipal king of Assur,*

*f.* 　ṣar binu-ut　qati　ka　sa　ana　sar　ka　ḍabu

　　*the work of thy hands, who unto thee is good,*

*g.* 　u - ḫu　qu　u　ki　di　in　sa　zi(?)　ka

　　*who has established ordinances and on thy * * **
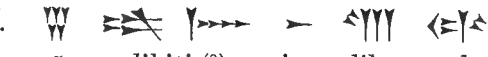
*h.* 　sit　ku - na　eni　su　is　mu　u　um - ma

　　*has fixed his eyes, heard thus:*
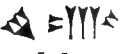
*i.* 　Saul -mu- gi　na ana　　Elam　　*j.* i - ḫal - lik

　　*" Saulmugina　　to　　Elam　　broke away;*

　a - mat　u　sa - si　tu pan - i　　*k.* ana　　Elam

　*an agreement he caused to make, before　　to　　Elam*
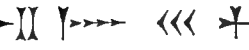
　i - ḫal　li　ki　　*l.* 5　libiti (?)　ina　lib　ul

　*he broke away.　　Five omens in heart were not*

　ḍabu　　*m.* Araḫ Tasritu immi　15　lim - mu　Ṣa-gab

　*good.　　Month Tisri, fifteenth day, eponym Sagab,*

*n.* 　Da - ri　ṣar　Dan- ai　bel - ku　　*o.* Ili　rabati

　　*Darisar　　Danai belku.　　The great Gods the*

　beli　uzzi　　*p.* tam　mu　uṣ　ṣu　uzzi

　*lords strength　　continue　to　him,　their*

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| su - nu | *q.* | sa | damiq | a | na | ṣar | be - eli | ya |
| *strength* | | *for* | *good* | *to* | *the* | *king* | *my* | *lord* |

*r.*    lis - tap - pa    ru - u - ni
     *may*    *they*    *send.*
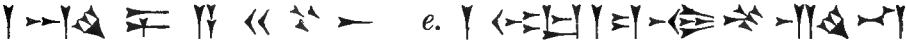
PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 3161.

*a.* [immi] 17   sa araḥ an - ni    *b.* araḥ Samna sa sanat
   *The seventeenth day of this month,*    *the month Marchesvan of*

an - na   uzzus(?)    *c.* sa ẓabi id - dan    *d.* sa
*this year, it was*    *that the men belonging*    *to*

Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur   ana eli    *e.* Saul -mu- gi - na
*Assurbanipal king of Assyria*    *went over to Saulmugina;*

*f.* it tal -ku ana qati su-nu    *g.* ki(?) -bit(?)- tu   dabtu
   *to*     *their*     *hands*     *the*   *will(?)*   *was good.*

*h.* [Araḥ] Samna immi   17   lim -mu   Ṣa-gab    *i.*   * * * a
*Month Marchesvan seventeenth day, eponym Sagab*    * * * a
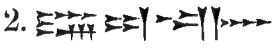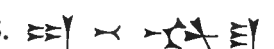
Assur - dan   * * *    *j.*   * * *   i   * * *
*Assurdan*    * * *     * * *     * * *

*k.* [ina lib   Bit] - ridu - te   e -tap-su
[ina lib   Bit] - ridu - te   e -tap-su
*[In the midst] of Bitridute made.*

### K, 312.  PROCLAMATION OF THE KING TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SEA COAST.

1. [cuneiform] 2. [cuneiform]
A-mat ṣar a-na nisi mat tam- ti        nisi ab - ba   i
*The will of the king to the men of the coast,        the      sea,*

[cuneiform]    3. [cuneiform]
va    abli       ardi       a        salim - mu ai  si   lib - ba
*and the sons of my servants ;        my      peace    to     your*

[cuneiform]    4. [cuneiform]    5. [cuneiform]
ku - nu        lu   ḍa - ab  ku - nu - si        a - mu - ra  adi
*hearts,        may  you   be   well.        I am watching*

[cuneiform]    6. [cuneiform]
na - ak - ka - a - ha        ina lib sa eni ai ina   eli
*sharply,        from  out  of  my eyes, over*

[cuneiform]    7. [cuneiform]
ku - nu        va    la pa - an ḥi  iḍ  sa  Nabu - bel - zikri
*you ;        and from the face of the sin of Nebobelzikri,*

8. [cuneiform]    9. [cuneiform]
* * * * *   sa ana mi - na - nu        ab   ru   ṣu
* * * * *       *entirely*        *I have separated*

[cuneiform]    10. [cuneiform]
ku - nu - si  a - du    u        Bel - ibni arda  a va
*you.        Now,        Belibni   my servant,*

[cuneiform]    11. [cuneiform]
du - ba - si ya        a - na  a - lik pa - nu - ti ana   eli
*my   deputy,        to   go   before,  to   be   over*

[cuneiform]    12. [cuneiform]    13. [cuneiform]
ku - nu        al - tap - ra   at - tu - nu        ab - bat - tiv  va
*you        I   send   to   you.        I command, and*

ina  lib  a-mat    **14.**  sa  ina    eli    ya  da-[bu]  *  *  *
*in  the  will*       *which  is  in  me  good*  *  *  *

**15.**  sa  ina  lib  bi  sa  ´  *  *  *  *  *  *    **16.**  nisi
*which  in  the  heart*  *  *  *  *  *  *      *

ut  *  *  *  *    **17.**  ki  *  *  *  *    **18.**  tam-ma-ra-ni
*  *  *  *  *    *  *  *  *      *  *  *  *

mi  *  *  *  *    **19.**  sa    ardi    sa  zi  *  *  *  *
*  *  *  *  *      *of  the  servants  who*  *  *  *  *

**20.**  sa    beli    su-nu  is-su-nu    **21.**  ya  ha-nu-u
    *of  their  lords  bring(?)*      *to    me.*

as-su ana-ku    **22.**  e  mu  ki  ya  al-tap-ra
*Of  myself,*         *my  forces  I  send.*

**23.**  i-lu  su  at  tu  ku-nu    **24.**  me-nu-u dum  ki
  *I  have  joined  with  you,*      *keeping    your*

ku-nu    **25.**  va dabtu ku-nu  i  na emur ya
*good*      *and  your  benefit  in  my  sight.*

## DATE.

Arah  Airu immi  5    lim-mu    Bel-harran-sad-u-a
*Month  Iyyar,  fifth  day,  eponym  Belharransadua*

K, 4457.

1. [𒀭 𒈗 𒌦] 𒂗𒈗 𒌋𒁕 𒋢 𒀀𒄷 𒋢 𒊭 𒌓𒈠 𒊑 𒌅

[Um -man]- al  da - ṣu  aḫu su sa  Tam-ma- ri -tu

*Ummanaldasu        brother    of      Tammaritu*

𒈗 𒉺 [𒌷 𒌨 𒄿]    2. 𒀭 𒌋 𒈨 𒉿 𒈨𒌷 𒊏𒁍 𒋫𒂗 [𒈠𒈾]

ṣar      [Elam]       Ut- te - di   nisi  rab [mitpanu]

*king   of   [El·m].*           *Uttedi  commander  of  archers,*

3. 𒀭 𒌅 𒂗𒈗 𒌋𒌋 𒈨𒌷 𒊏𒁍 𒋫𒂊 𒌋 𒂗𒈨 𒈾 𒀠 𒀀 [𒋢]

Te - um -man nis  rab mitpanu sa  bit -ḫal la  a  [su]

*and  Teumman commander  of  the archers of [his] chariot(?),*

4. 𒀭 𒌅 𒂗𒈗 𒌅𒊑 𒌅 𒌋𒌋 𒉺 𒂗𒈗 𒌋 𒈨 𒊭 𒀀 𒈾 𒆠 𒊑

Tam -ma- ri - tu ṣar      Elam    sa a - na  kit  ri

*Tammaritu   king   of  Elam,  who  to   the   aid   of*

𒀭𒈾 𒈬 𒄀 𒈾 ░░░ 5. 𒅋 𒇷 𒅗 𒀀𒉿

Saul -mu- gi  na  * * *    il  li  ka  av -va

*Saulmugina    * * *        went,      and*

𒀭 𒈾 𒈪 𒄷 𒊻 𒌝𒈠𒉿 𒑐    6. 𒀭 𒈾 𒆪

a  na  mit - ḫu   uz   umman  ya        a  na  ku

*to       fight   my    army.            I*

𒀭𒊭 𒁀 𒈗 𒀸𒋩 𒀸𒋩 𒉿 𒁹𒁯 𒄠 𒄷 𒌨

Assur-bani-pal ṣar  Assur Assur va  Istar  am  ḫu - ur

*Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Assur and Ishtar invoked;*

7. 𒅖 𒈬 𒋢 𒌒 𒉿 𒅀 𒁹 𒀭𒁕 𒁉𒂵

va      is  mu -u  ṣu  up  pi  ya   In   da  bi-gas

*and        they  heard  my  prayer.      Indabigas*

𒀸 𒋢 𒍣 𒊍 𒋢 𒁹   8. 𒅁 𒉺 𒆠 𒁹𒉿 𒀸 𒋫𒄩

arad  ṣu  ẓir  us - su      ip  pal  kit  va ina  taḫaz

*his servant, against him       revolted, and  in  the battle*

    zin   is -ku -nu  abikta  su     9.    nisi   Tam-ma- ri -tu
*field accomplished his overthrow.*    *The men of Tammaritu*

ultu qabal tam-ḫa- ri  in -nab-tu-niv -va    10.    abikta umman su
*from the midst of the battle fled and of the defeat of his army*

ig -bu su va  in -nab- ta  u  ru - uḫ -ḫi tam- ti
*told him;  and  he  fled  by  the  way  of  the  sea.*

11.    arku su  In - da - bi -gas arad ṣu  u -sib ina kuzzu su
*After him Indabigas his servant,  sat on his throne.*

___

12.    Elap    Tam ma   ri   tu  ṣar    Elam
*The  ship  of  Tammaritu   king  of   Elam,*

    aḫi   su  qi  ni su ziri  bit abi su    13.  rubi
*his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house,  and the princes*

[a - lik]  idi  su  sa  si  ik -nu  di -ru -u  rù  taq -tu
*[going]  before  him,  which  was  sinking (?)   \*   \*   \*   \*   \**

iẓ -ba -tu    14.   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*  ba  ti su -u ul -tu
*had taken.   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*   he  from*

ki -rib  elap  su -a -tu ana ki  li    15.  Tam-ma- ri -tu
*out  of  that  ship,  to  a  boat,    Tammaritu*

a  na  arku  su  is ᵕ si  ma - ru  us -tu  qaq- qar
*on  his  back  he  carried  sick.  The*
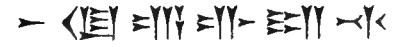
𒀀 𒀀 𒀀     16. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀(?)
nam - ra - zi     u - par - ri * * * us (?)
*ground*     *he* *placed* *him* *on,*
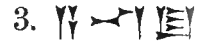
𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
u - se - rib su ki - rib qani * * * a - na bu - ri su - nu
*he caused him to enter into the reeds.*    *For* *their* *food*
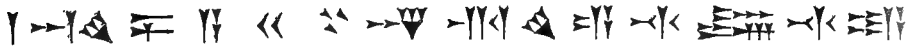
17. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
* * * * * * sa ut * * * zib * * *
* * * * * *which* * * * * * *

---

<center>REVERSE.</center>

1. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
Tam - ma - ri - tu ṣar    Elam    sa pa - an
*Tammaritu* *king* *of* *Elam,* *who* *before*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 2. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
In - da - bi - gas ip - pal    ina ki - rib mar - ra ti
*Indabigas* *fell;*    *in the midst of the sea*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 3. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
i - ki - il pa - a e - mu - ru ma - ru - us - tu    a - na - ku
*sailed(?)* *and*   *had* *seen* *sickness.*    *I*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
Assur - bani - pal ṣar   Assur ri - ḫe - e - ti ṣaru - ti ya
*Assurbanipal king of Assyria,*   *my* *royal* *friendship*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 4. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
u - se - bil su    ri - ḫe - e - ti sa - a - ti - na
*sent* *to* *him.*    *That* *friendship* *he*

𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀
im - ḫar va ina maḫri     ummati ya
*received,* *and* *in* *presence* *of* *my* *general*
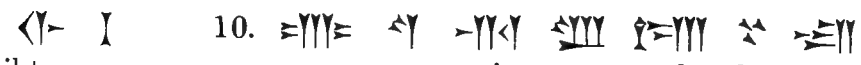
5. 𒀀 𒈾 𒊍 𒋛 �qa 𒄥 �qa 𒊒
u - na - as - si - qa   qaq   qa - ru
*kissed*     *the*     *ground.*

---

6. Ṣi - id   ru   sa   Um -man- i -gas   la   na - zir   dabtu
*Line [of battle] of Ummanigas, disregarder of the benefits*

7. sa   Assur - bani - pal   ṣar   Assur   sa   ki - rib
*of*    *Assurbanipal   king   of   Assyria;   who   in*
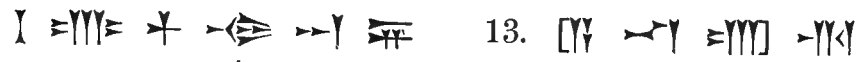
Elam      8. is   ku - nu   su   a   na   ṣaru   ti
*Elam*      *had appointed him to the kingdom.*

9. Tam -ma- ri -tu   sa   it - ti   su * * ma * *   is -ku -nu
*Tammaritu    who with him had fought(?) had accomplished*

abikta   su      10. u   par   ri - ru   el - lat   ṣu
*his overthrow*      *and   dispersed   his   forces.*

---

11. [Ni] - kis   qaqadu   [sa]   Um -man- i -gas   ṣar
*Decapitated    head    [of]    Ummanigas   king   of*

Elam     12. [sa]   ya - a - ti   * * * * *
*Elam,*     *who   to   me   * * * * **

e -su   u -vas- sir   an - ni      13. [a - na   kit] - ri
* *   *abandoned    me,*      *and [to the] aid of*

[Saul]   mu - gi   na   bel   nakiri   ya
*[Saul]mugina    lord   of   my   enemies,*
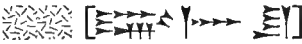
14.                                                                                                
\* \* \* \*   Tam-ma- ri - tu   ik - ki   ṣu   qabal
\* \* \* \*   *Tammaritu*   *had cut off in the midst of*

tam-ḫa- ri           15.                                    ummati        ya
*battle.*                      \* \* \* \*        *my*    *general*

sa   Um - man - i   gas       16.                        Ma- dak - tu
*who*   *Ummanigas*               \* \* \* \*      *Madaktu.*

### K, 2825. Partly Restored from Fragments of Duplicate Tablets.
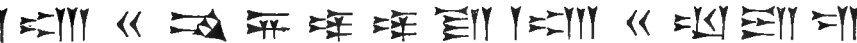
*a.*   Tam-ma- ri - tu   ṣar      Elam      (su - a - tu)
     *Tammaritu*   *king*   *of*     *Elam*     *(that),*
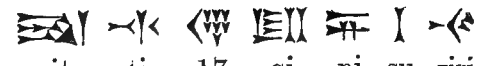
a- di   Um -man- al   das   Pa - ra  \* \*  [aḫi   su]
*and*   *Ummanaldas,*   *Para*  \* \*  [*his brothers*]

*b.*   Um -man- al   da   ṣi   ablu   Te - um - man   ṣar
     *Ummanaldasi*   *son*   *of*   *Teumman*   *king of*
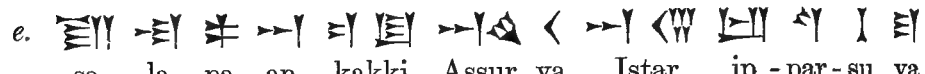
  Elam     Um -man- am - ni   ablu   Um -man-pi - ha
  *Elam,*    *Ummanamni*   *son of*   *Ummanpiha*
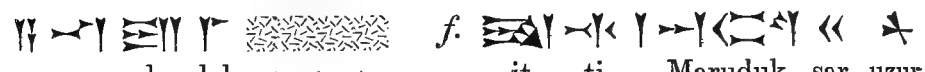
(v.  Um -man-ap - pi)  ablu   Ur   ta - ki   ṣar      Elam
(v.  *Ummanappi*)   *son*   *of*  *Urtaki*  *king of*    *Elam,*
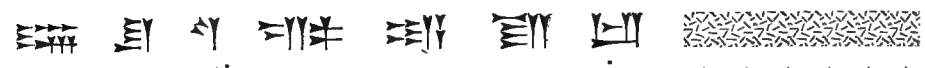
*c.*   Um -man- am   ni  ablu  abli  sa    Um - man- al   da   ṣi
     *Ummanamni*    *grandson*    *of*     *Ummanaldasi*

şar      [Elam]
king  of   [Elam],

*d.*   it   ti   17   qi - ni   su   ziri
*with seventeen of his kin, the seed of*
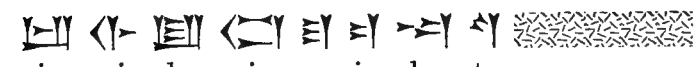
bit   abi su   va      86      rubi   a - li - kut   idi   su
*his father's house, and eighty-six princes going before him;*

*e.*   sa   la   pa - an   kakki   Assur   va   Istar   ip - par - su   va
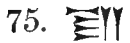*who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled, and*
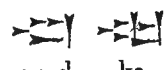
a - na   da - lal   * * *        *f.*   it - ti   Maruduk   sar - uzur
*to    exalt    * * *              with    Merodachsaruzur*

ummati            ya      sa      ip   * * * * * *
*my            general,    who        * * * * * **

*g.*   mi - ra - nu - us - su - un   ina   eli   lib - bi   su - nu
*their      bitterness      within    their     hearts*
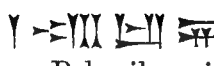
ip - si - lu - niv - va   iz - ba - tu   * * * *
*raged,    and    they    took    * * **

K, 599.   DISPATCH FROM AN OFFICER TO THE KING.

1.   A - na - bel   şarri   bel   ya      2.   arad   ka
*To   the   lord   of   kings   my   lord,        thy   servant*

Bel - ib   ni      3.   Assur   Samas   va   Maruduk   araku
*Belibni;        Assur, Shamas and Merodach, length of*

𒀀𒈪 4. 𒁺 �809 𒄿 𒁁 𒁺 𒄑 5. 𒑲

immi      du - ub   lib - bi va   du - ub   ṣiri      sa

*days,*     *sound   heart,   and   sound   body,*    *to the*

be - eli    ṣarri    bel ya    6. liq - bu - u   a - na   eli

*lord of kings my lord*     *grant.    Concerning*

7. Tam - ti   i - ti   aḫi     8. nis   qi - ni sa   va

*Tamti-iti,    the brothers,     kinsmen,     and*

rabati    9. sa a - na   ṣar bel ya as - pur    10. a - du - u

*great men,    whom to the king my lord I send,     thus:*

Tam - mar - i - ti     11. aḫi   sa nisi   qi - na su

*" Tammaritu,      the brothers, his   kinsmen   and*

12. va    nisi    rabati    su    i - zu - zi

*his     great     men,     together*

13. a - na   pa - an   ṣar beli ya     14. al - tap - ra - as - su - nu

*to the   presence   of the king     my lord I send them*

15.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM A DISPATCH MENTIONING THE DEATH OF
INDABIGAS KING OF ELAM.   K, 13.

1. [A - na   bel    ṣarri    beli] ya   arad   ka

*[To   the   lord   of   kings]   my [lord,]   thy   servant*

𒁹 ⟶𒁹 ⟶𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒅗　　2. [⟶𒁹◀ ⟶𒁹𒐊 ⟨ ⟶𒁹⟨⟶𒁹⟩] 𒈨𒁹 𒀹

Bel　ib - ni　　　　[Assur　Samas　va　Maruduk]　du - bi

　　*Belibni.*　　　　　[*From Assur, Shamas and Merodach,*]　*sound*

𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒀹 𒈨𒁹 𒀹 𒐊◀⟶　　3. [𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒌋𒐊 𒐊𒁹 𒐊⟶⟶⟶ ⟨] ⟶𒂍𒐊 ✦

lib - bi　du - bi　siri　　　[a - ra - ku　immi　va]　la - bar

*heart and sound body;*　　[*length　of　days,　and*]　*long*

⟶𒁹𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒁹 ⟶𒐊 𒂍𒀹𒀹 𒐊⟶⟶⟶　　4. [𒂍𒀹𒀹 𒐊 𒐊 ⟶𒐊 𒌋]

pal - e　ana bel　　sarri　　　[sar　matati bel　ya]

*life; to the lord of kings*　　[*king of the earth my lord.*]

𒐊◀𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒐊 𒌋 𒐊 ⟨𒐊𒐊 𒐊⟨𒐊　　5. [𒐊 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊 ⟶⟶] 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
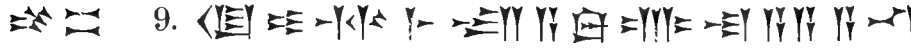
de　e - mu sa　　Elam　　　[Um - ma - hal] - da - a - su

*The　news　from　Elam,*　　　*Ummanaldas;*

𒂍𒀹𒀹 ⟶𒂍𒐊 𒀹𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒌋 ◀⟶𒐊𒐊 ⟶𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊

sar　mah - ru　u　sa　ih　li - qa

*the　former　king　has　destroyed,*

6. [𒐊◀𒐊 ⟶𒂍𒐊𒐊 ⟶𒐊𒐊] 𒐊◀ 𒂍𒐊 ⟶ 𒂍𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊𒐊 ⟨𒐊⟶ 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊

[il - li - ka] - av - va ina. kuzzu　u　si - i - bu

*he has gone and on the throne has sat.*

7. [𒂍𒐊 ⟶𒐊𒐊⟨𒐊] ⟶𒂍𒐊 ⟶𒐊𒐊 ⟶𒂍𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒀹𒀹𒐊 ⟶𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒂍𒐊

[ip - tal]　la　hu　　Ma - dak - ti　un - dis - sar

*They　feared (?)　Madaktu　he has left,*

8. 𒀹𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊𒐊 ⟶𒂍𒐊 𒂍𒐊 𒐊⟶⟶⟶　𒐊 ⟨𒐊⟶𒂍𒐊 𒂍𒀹𒀹 𒂍𒐊 ⟶𒐊 𒐊

ummu su alat　su　mari　su　va　nis　qi - na - as - su

*his mother, his wife, his children and his kinsmen*

𒂍𒐊 𒀹　　9. ⟨𒂍 𒂍 ⟶𒐊𒐊 𒐊⟶ ⟶𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒀹 𒂍𒐊𒐊𒐊 ⟶𒂍𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 ⟶𒐊

gab - bi　　ki　i　ik - mi - su　　　U - la - ai　a - na

*all;　then　he subdued.　The　Ulai　in its*

𒂍𒐊 ⟶𒁹𒐊 𒌋 𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊　　10. 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒂍𒐊 𒐊𒐊 ⟶𒐊

su - pal　sa　a　ru　　　i - te - bir　a - na

*depth　a　flood,*　　　　*he　crossed,　to*

Ta - la - aḫ    it - tal    ka    niru

*Talah*    *he*    *went.*    *The*    *chief*

11. Um - man - si - bar    Un - da - du    zi    il    li - ru

*Ummansibar,*    *Undadu*    *the*    *zilliru,*

12. va    bel    ummani (?)    su ma - la    ba - as - su - u

*and*    *the*    *lords*    *of*    *his*    *forces*    *all*    *there*    *were;*

13. it    tal - ku    pa    ni    su    nu    a - na    alu    su

*went*    *before*    *them,*    *to*    *his*    *city*

Ḫa - ri    ṣu    un - ṣi

*Harisundasi.*

EPIGRAPH OVER KING IN CHARIOT RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.
Line 7 from Duplicate on Tablet Fragment.

1. A - na - ku    Assur - bani - pal    sar kissat ṣar    Assur

*I am Assurbanipal king of nations king of Assyria,*

2. sa ina    kibit    Ili    rabati    ik - su - du

*who*    *by*    *the*    *will*    *of*    *the*    *great Gods*    *has taken the*

3. ẓu - um - mi - rat    lib bi su lu    bul - tu    su - qut - tu

*desire*    *of*    *his*    *heart;*    *garments*    *beautiful,*

4. ṣi - mat    ṣar - u - ti    sa    Saul - mu    gi    na

*the*    *royal*    *robes*    *of*    *Saulmugina*
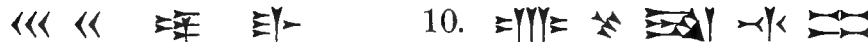
5. 𒀭𒌋 𒑱𒀭 𒌋𒀀 𒀀𒈾 𒈗 𒅆 𒑱𒀭𒉌 𒈾 𒐊 𒀀 𒑱𒀀𒌋 (𒐊)
ahu la- kenu   sal-zik- ri -te su      ummati
*my   younger   brother,   his   concubines,   his   generals,*

𒐊   6. 𒀸𒅆 𒀀𒐊 𒐊 𒀭𒀀𒐊 𒐊 𒑱𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒑱 𒐊𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒀀 𒑱𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊
su       zabi      tahaz su ruqubi sa sad-da di
     *his   men   of   war,   the   powerful   war   chariots,*

𒀭𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒐊   7. 𒐊𒐊 𒅆 𒐊𒐊 𒑱𒀀 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒀀𒐊
ru - du belu- ti su       susi       zi - bi - ti
*his lordly carriages,*       *horses   trained   to   the*

𒑱𒐊 𒐊𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒐊   8. 𒀀𒑱 𒀀𒐊 𒐊𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒀀𒐊 𒑱𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒑱𒐊 𒀀𒐊
niri    su       nin hi- suh - ti e kal su ma- la
*yoke,*       *the desirable women of his palace all there*

𒀀𒑱 𒐊𒐊 𒑱𒐊   9. 𒑱𒐊 𒑱𒀀𒀀 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒀭𒐊 (v. 𒑱𒐊𒅆 𒐊𒐊𒐊)
ba - su - u       nisi       zik - ru   (v. zi - kar)
*were;*       *people*       *male*

𒐊 𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊   𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒑱   10. 𒑱𒐊𒐊 𒅆 𒐊𒐊𒑱 𒀀𒐊 𒐊𒐊
va sin - nis zahruti rabati       u - se - et - ti - qu
*and female, small and great,*       *I   caused   to   come*

𒐊 𒑱𒐊𒐊 𒀀𒐊𒑱 (v. 𒐊𒑱) 𒐊𒐊𒐊
ina mah - ri (v. mahri) ya
*into   my   presence.*

It is necessary in this division of the reign to give a more
detailed account of the events, many of the inscriptions relating to
it being too long to translate here; but for every fact of importance
a reference is given to the inscription from which the statement is
drawn (in cases where the inscription is not translated), that
students may be able to compare the original documents.

After he had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu in Elam,
Assurbanipal sent an envoy to Elam (K, 2644) to demand the
return of the image of Nana, which the Elamites had carried off
to Shushan; and a little later, Saulmugina, brother of Assurbanipal,

instigated all the tributary states to revolt against Assurbanipal. Saulmugina is the Saosduchinus of Ptolemy, his name is written ᵀ ⊢⊣ ⊨ᵀ ⊣⟨⊟ ⊰⊱ ⊣ᵀᵀ⊲ ⊢⊣ᵀ and ᵀ ⊢⊣ ⊨ᵀ ⊣⟨⊟ ⊰⊱ ⊨⊣ᵀ. The first element ⊨ᵀ ⊣⟨⊟ is rendered in Cun. Ins. Vol. II, p. 45, line 49, by ⧉⧉ ⊨⊨ᵀ⊢⊢ᵀ ⟨⊨⊨ *Sa-mul-lu*, the second element ⊰⊱ is *sum* or *zikar*, and the third ⊢ᵀᵀ⊲ ⊢⊣ᵀ or ⊨⊣ᵀ *gina* in Akkad, is ukin in Assyrian, the whole name was probably *Samul-zikar-ukin*, or *Samul-sum-ukin* in Assyrian. Probably, by the will of Esarhaddon, Saulmugina was made king of Babylon at his death. K, 3050, and the Cylinder of Assurbanipal in the Louvre exhibit Saulmugina as on intimate terms with Assurbanipal, and this state of affairs lasted for about seventeen years. During the eponymy of Assurduruzur, Saulmugina planned a revolt against his brother, which Assurbanipal represents as very ungrateful. The inscriptions seem to show that Assurbanipal only allowed his brother a nominal sovereignty round Babylon, and Saulmugina desiring to be independent, sent messengers to the various subject rulers to persuade them to join him in throwing off the Assyrian yoke. The most important tributary was Ummanigas of Elam, and to insure his aid, Saulmugina opened the treasuries of the temple of Bel at Babylon, the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, and the temple of Nergal at Kutha, and sent their treasures as a present to the Elamite monarch (K, 2631). Ummanigas received the bribe, and sent his troops to Babylonia. Other messengers were sent by Saulmugina to the various rulers round Babylonia, and ᵀ ⱝ ⊨⊣ᵀ *Kudur* governor of Uruk (Warka) sent a dispatch to Assurbanipal (K, 5457), telling him that he had heard from Sintabniuzur, governor of Ur, of the arrival of the messenger of Saulmugina at that city, and that part of the people had revolted. Kudur then took 500 men from Uruk, and joining ᵀ ⊨⊱ ⧉⊣ᵀ ᵀᵀ ⊣ᵀᵀ ⊣ᵀ⟨⊱ ⊰⊰ ⊨⟨⊨ ⊨⊨⊣ ᵀᵀ⟨ *Palia*, prefect of *Arrapha*, and ᵀ ⊣ᵀ ⊨ᵀᵀ ᵀᵀ ⊣ᵀᵀ ⊣ᵀ⟨⊱ ⊰⊰ ᵀᵀ ᵀ⊢ ⧉ *Zabea*, prefect of *Amida*, went down to Ur; but he could not stop the revolt, and Sintabniuzur himself went over to Saulmugina. Meanwhile the Babylonian king sent an embassy to Assyria to assure Assurbanipal of his devotion; on the return of this embassy, the general revolt broke out, and is said to have included Ummanigas of Elam, and his feudatory chiefs, Saulmugina of Babylon, the Guti

by whom the Arabians are probably intended, Martu or Hatti which is Syria, and Miluhha, which must here mean Egypt, the country with which the name is constantly connected.* Among the minor princes and governors involved, the following are mentioned, Nebobelzikri or Nebobelsumi, ruler of the Chaldees on the Persian gulf, Sintabniuzur of Ur, 𒁹 𒌋𒌋 𒉽 𒂍 𒈨𒌍 𒈨 ⸬ *Mannuki-babili* of Bit-dakkuri, and 𒁹 𒈨 𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕 𒌋𒌋 𒄑 𒈨 𒀀 *Hea-mubasa* of Bit-amukkan (K, 4515), 𒁹 𒈨𒌍 𒐖𒐖𒐖 *Nadan* of Puqud or Pekod (K, 524).

After the departure of the Elamite forces to Babylonia, Tammaritu the son† of Ummanigas, assisted by his uncle Tammaritu, who was sub-king of Hidalu, revolted against his father, and to gain over the war party which was hostile to Assyria, he declared that he had not killed Teumman, and accused Ummanigas of being the only one who had submitted to Assurbanipal. In the battle which followed, Tammaritu gained the victory, and cut off his father's head. Saulmugina subsidised Tammaritu, and he, like his father, marched his troops into Babylonia against Assurbanipal. While there, Indabigas raised a revolt and drove him from the throne, and Tammaritu and his adherents embarked on the Persian gulf, and after considerable suffering landed and took refuge in the marshy district of the lower Euphrates, here having been assured of a good reception, they surrendered to Merodachsaruzur, a general serving under Belibni the governor of Assurbanipal (K, 1610, and K, 2825), and were sent by Belibni to Assyria.

Assurbanipal appears at first to have been overwhelmed by the magnitude of his misfortune, but the vigour of some of the Assyrian generals prevented the revolt becoming universal; Paliya, governor of Arbaha or Arrapha, on the northern border of Elam, held that side, and we are told, K, 159, that from fear of capture, that part

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* The contempt of chronology in the Assyrian records is well shown by the fact that in Cylinder A, the account of the revolt of Psammitichus is given under the third expedition, while the general account of the rebellion of Saulmugina is given under the sixth expedition, the affair of Nebobelzikri under the eighth expedition, and the Arabian and Syrian events in connexion are given under the ninth expedition.

† It is only while writing this Division that I have found that the Tammaritu who revolted against Ummanigas, was his son, and not his brother; he is sometimes called "Tammaritu the younger," and "Tammaritu the later," to distinguish him from his uncle, who bore the same name.

of Elam did not join the revolt, and Kudur, governor of Uruk, held that important city for Assurbanipal. In the eponymy of Sagab, reinforcements were sent into Babylonia, and next year, in the eponymy of Bilharransadua, Belibni was appointed governor in south Babylonia.*

The Assyrian forces having defeated the confederate army of Babylonians, Elamites, and Arabians, shut them up in the four cities of Babylon,† Borsippa, Kutha, and Sipara ; here they were besieged, until in the extremity of famine, the people eat their own children. After a vain attempt at a sortie, Babylon fell, and Saulmugina was burned.‡ After the capture of Babylon, the country was annexed to Assyria, and an Assyrian general named Samasdainani was made governor of Babylon and the surrounding district. Nebobelzikri,‖ the Chaldean who had joined the revolt, had taken captive the Assyrian garrison which guarded his country, and when the revolt failed, he made his escape into Elam, carrying with him the Assyrians as prisoners. Indabigas, king of Elam, sent to Assurbanipal, desiring to make peace, but the Assyrian monarch sent back word demanding the surrender of Nebobelzikri and the Assyrians who were in Elam, and threatened to invade Elam if they were refused. Assurbanipal afterwards dispatched an envoy to Elam on this errand, and on reaching the frontier the Assyrian messenger heard that Indabigas had been killed, and succeeded by Ummanaldas ; a long diplomatic correspondence ensued between Assurbanipal and Ummanaldas respecting Nebobelzikri, who ultimately committed suicide in company with his armour bearer (see

* The name of Belibni consists of two parts, the first the deity Bel is written ⟨cuneiform⟩, ⟨cuneiform⟩ and ⟨cuneiform⟩ (this is the only proper name in which I have found these forms interchange) ; the second ipni "he made," is written ⟨cuneiform⟩, ⟨cuneiform⟩ and ⟨cuneiform⟩.

† This is the first time in history that we know Babylon to have been besieged. At least six times previously the Assyrians had taken it without siege, and it is probable that the great extent of the city had prevented its being enclosed by a wall until the time of Esarhaddon, who fortified it about thirty years before Saulmugina's revolt.

‡ We have no details of the death of Saulmugina, so that it is uncertain under what circumstances he was burned, it is possible that he set fire to his palace on the taking of Babylon ; self-destruction, under such circumstances, was common in ancient times.

‖ Nebobelzikri is called in some copies the son, and in others the grandson of Merodach Baladan, the latter is the more correct relationship. He was probably the son of Nahidmaruduk, a younger son of Merodach Baladan, who was king of Chaldee in the time of Esarhaddon.

Part XI).    Several of the facts connected with this period are indicated on omen tablets, many of these tablets embodying the judgment of the astrologers were written at the order of Assurbanipal, that he might know if the omens were favourable for the prosecution of the war against Saulmugina and his allies.   At the close of these omen tablets, the circumstances in the revolt which called for the inquiries are specified, together with the dates and the statements whether the omens were favourable or not. There are many other fragments beside those translated here, and the dates extend from the eponymy of Assurduruzur to that of Bilharransadua, a period of about two years.

The following are some of the tablets referring to this part of the history, which are not translated here,  K, 4796 ;  K, 1210 ; K, 974 ;  K, 824 ;  K, 1580 ;  K, 1095 ;  K, 1541 ;  K, 4275 ;  K, 1196 ; K, 1030 ;  K, 5456 ;  K, 1249 ;  K, 5457 ;  K, 1610 ;  K, 524 ;  No. 67, 4—2, 1 ;  K, 95 ;  K, 84.
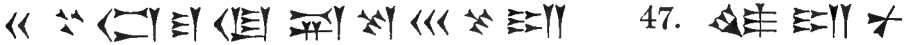
# PART X.

*The First War with Ummanaldas, King of Elam.*

TEXTS.

There are two good texts of this war, Cylinder A, col. v, lines 44 to 117, and an Extract from K, 2656. Beside these there is the imperfect text on K, 2833, and K, 3085, not translated here.

### Cylinder A, Column V, Lines 44 to 117.

44. 𒀭𒈨𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒂊𒇻 𒐥𒐊 𒁉𒌦 𒂖𒌋 𒐊 𒁉𒊭𒅗 𒈨𒌋
I - na ṣibe- e    gar    ri    ya ina araḥ Sivanu araḥ
*In my seventh expedition, in the month Sivan the month of*

𒀭𒌋𒌋 𒁁𒌋𒌋 𒀀𒍣   45. 𒈨𒌋 𒅆𒇽 𒐊 𒀸 𒌋 𒁉𒌋 𒐊 𒁕
Sin    bel uzzi        ablu ris    tu va a - sa- ri -du sa
*Sin lord of might,       eldest    son    and    first    of*

𒀭𒌋 𒀳 𒐖 𒐖𒐖 𒀳 𒈨𒌋   46. 𒅆𒌋 𒐊 𒌋𒐊 𒌋𒌋 𒌋 𒀸
Bel    ad    ki    umman    ya        ẓir    Um -man- al -das
*Bel: I gathered my army,        against        Ummanaldas*

𒌋𒌋 𒐊 𒁉𒀸 𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒀸 𒐊𒐊   47. 𒀸𒌋 𒐖𒌋 𒅆
ṣar        Elam    us te - es - se - ra        mur - ra - nu
*king of Elam    I    directed        the    march.*

𒂷 𒐖𒌋𒀭 𒐖𒌋 𒌋𒐖 𒈨𒌋 𒐊 𒌋 𒐖 𒌋𒐊 𒌋 𒌋 𒐖 𒁉𒀸
u    bil    it - ti    ya Tam-ma- ri -tu ṣar        Elam
*I    brought    with    me Tammaritu    king    of    Elam,*

48. [cuneiform]
sa  la  pa - an      In      da  bi -gas ardu  su    in  -nab-tu  va
*who  from  the  face  of  Indabigas  his  servant  had  fled,  and*

49. [cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]
iẓ- ba     ta      (v. tu)   niri   ya    nisi         Ḥi-  il  -mi
*taken      my      yoke.      The      people      of      Ḥilmi,*

[cuneiform]                    50. [cuneiform]
Bil     la     ti                      Du     (um)    mu    qu
*Billati,*                              *Dummuqu,*

[cuneiform]
Ṣu   la - ai        La - ḥi   ra          Di   bi   ri   i - na
*Sulai,*            *Lahira*        *and*        *Dibirina,*

51. [cuneiform]
ti   ib   taḥaz   ya  dan - ni    is - mu - u  sa   al - la - ku
*the  force  of  my  fierce  attack,  heard  of,  as  I  went*

[cuneiform]                    52. [cuneiform]
a - na         Elam              nam - ri - ri  Assur  va  Istar
*to*           *Elam.*              *The  terror  of  Assur  and  Ishtar*

[cuneiform]
beli       ya      pu - luḥ - ti     (v. tu)      ṣaru   ti   ya
*my      lords,      and      the      fear      of      my      kingdom*

53. [cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]
iṣ - ḥu - up    (v. ḥup)   su -nu - ti   su -nu     nisi     su -nu
*overwhelmed      them.      They,      their      people,*

[cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]
alpi    su - nu    ẓe    e    ni        (v. ẓeni)      su - nu
*their      oxen      and      their      sheep,*

54. [cuneiform]
a - na    e - pis  ardu   ti    ya    a    na        Assur
*to      do      my      service      to      Assyria*

𒀭 ⟶ (v. ⟶ ⟶) ⟨⟶ 𒂠          55. 𒂠 ⟶ ⟶ ⟨⟶

im -qut- (v. qu -tu)  niv -va                  iz - ba - tu    niru
*they        struck,     and*                    *took   the   yoke  of*

𒊹 ⟶ 𒂠 ⟶ 𒐊 𒀭 ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟨

ṣaru    ti    ya         Bit     im - bi - i   maḥ - ru - u
*my   kingdom.*          *Bitimbi      the      former*

56. ⟶ 𒊹 ⟨ ⟶ 𒐊 ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ 𒅄 ⟶ ⟨⟶ 𒂠 ⟨⟶

alu  ṣar -u -ti    bit  duk -la -a -ti  sa         Elam
*royal     city,    the    fortress    of     Elam;*

57. 𒅄 ⟨⟶ 𒂠 𒊹 ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ 𒅄 ⟨⟶ 𒂠 ⟨⟶ ⟶ 𒅖

sa   ki -ma  dur - e  pa -ti         Elam     par - ku
*which  like  a  wall  the  boundary  of  Elam   divided,*

58. 𒅄 𒐊 ⟶ ⟨⟨⟨ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟨⟨ ⟶ ⟶ ⟨⟶ 𒂠 ⟶

sa      Sin    aḥi    ir   ba   ṣar     Assur   abu  abi
*which  Sennacherib  king  of  Assyria,  the   grandfather*

𒊹 ⟶          59. ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟨ 𒐊 ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟨⟶ ⟶ ⟨
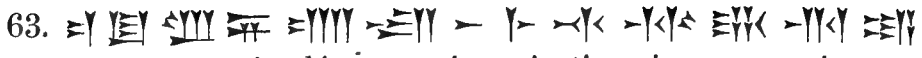
bani ya            il  la -mu -u -a  ik -su -du  va    su -u
*my begetter,      my  predecessor,  had  captured: and he the*

𒊹 ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟨          60.  ⟶ ⟨⟶ ⟶ ⟶ 𒐊
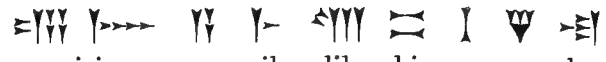
E - la - mu   u                     alu  me -  eḥ - rit
*Elamite,*                          *a  city  in  front  of  the*

⟶ 𒐊 𒀭 ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶          61. 𒅄 ⟶ ⟶
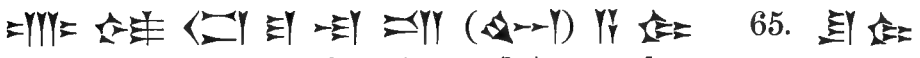
Bit     im - bi - i   maḥ - re    e          sa  nam -ma
*former     Bitimbi,*                      *another*

⟶ ⟶ (⟶) ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ 𒐊 ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ ⟨ ⟶
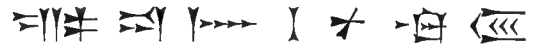
e    bu   (us)   su   va   dur   su   u   dan  nin - u  va
*had  built,  and  its  wall  he  had  strengthened,  and*

62. ⟶ 𒊹 ⟨⟶ 𒂠 ⟶ ⟶ ⟨ ⟶ ⟶ ⟶ 𒐊 𒀭 ⟶ ⟶

u - zak - ki   ru  ṣal -ḥu -u su      Bit     im - bi - i
*had  raised  its  outer  wall*        *Bitimbi*

63. [cuneiform]
iz-ku-ru  ni  bit  ṣu  ina mi-ti-iq  gar  ri  ya
*he had proclaimed its name: in the course of my expedition*

[cuneiform]  64. [cuneiform]
ak-su-ud              nisi      a  sib  lib  bi  su  sa  la
*I    took.*        *The  people  dwelling  in  it,  who  did  not*
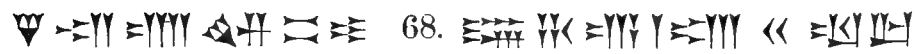
[cuneiform]  65. [cuneiform]
u-ẓu-niv-va  la  is  (ha)  a-luv        su-lum
*come  out,  and  did  not  pray  for      alliance with*

[cuneiform]
ṣaru  ti  ya  a-nir      qaqadi      su-nu  ak-kiṣ
*my  kingdom, I  felled.    Their  heads  I  cut  off,*

[cuneiform]  66. [cuneiform]
ṣapti    su-nu        ap  ru  ha  a-na  ta-mar-ti
*their    lips*      *I tore out, and for the inspection of the*

[cuneiform]
nisi    mati  ya    al-qa-a  a  na    Assur
*people  of  my  country, I  brought  to  Assyria.*

67. [cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform])
Im-ba  ap  pi      qe-e-pu  v. nis rab mitpanu)
*Imbaappi      governor    (v. commander of the archers)*

[cuneiform]  68. [cuneiform]
sa      Bit-im-bi  i          ḥa-tan  Um-man-al-das
*of      Bitimbi,*      *the relative of Ummanaldas*

(v. [cuneiform])  69. [cuneiform]
(v. da-ṣi)  ṣar      Elam        bal-ḍu-uṣ  ṣu
*king  of  Elam;*            *alive*

[cuneiform]  70. [cuneiform]
ul  tu  ki-rib  alu  su-a-tu        u-se-ẓa-av-va
*from  the  midst  of  that  city*      *I brought out and*

𒀸 𒃻 𒐉 𒈨𒈨 𒊹 𒀀 𒌋 𒌋 𒀀 𒐊 71. 𒀸𒈨𒊹 𒈨𒈨𒐊

qati va sepi bi - ri -tu parzil ad - di su va      u   ra - a

*hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed him, and*       *sent*

𒐊 𒀀 𒊹 𒈨 𒀀 𒃻 𒊹 𒀸 𒐊 𒀀 𒐊

a - na      Assur    sal   e - kal    va     abli    su

   *to*       *Assyria.*    *The women of the palace, and sons*

72. 𒀸 𒐊 𒊹 𒈨 𒈨 𒅗𒁺 𒊹 𒀸 𒐊 𒈨 𒀀 𒀀

sa    Te - um -man   șar       Elam    sa   ina

*of*    *Teumman*   *king*   *of*    *Elam;*    *whom by*

𒀀 𒈨 𒀀 𒀀 𒃻 73. 𒀀 𒊹 𒊹 𒈨𒊹 (v. 𒐊)

na - as -par - ti Assur     ina gar   ri    ya    (v. e)

*the command of Assur,*     *in*     *my*     *former*

𒈨𒐊 𒊹 𒈨𒐊 𒃻 𒈨 𒊹 𒈨𒈨 𒈨 𒈨𒐊 74. 𒈨𒀀 𒊹

maḫ - re - e ak - ki   șu    qaqad    șu       it   ti

*expedition I had cut off his head;*       *with the*

𒐊 𒈨𒀀 𒊹 𒈨𒐊 𒀀 𒐊 𒊹 𒊹 𒊹 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒀀 𒊹

și   it - ti    nisi   a - si bu ti      Bit - im - bi - i

*rest*   *of*    *the*    *people*   *dwelling*   *in*    *Bitimbi,*

75. 𒀸𒈨 𒊹 𒐊 𒈨𒀀 𒐊 𒊹 𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒀀 𒊹 𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀 𒈨𒐊 𒐊𒐊

u   -se-ẕa- av -va sal- la -tis am -nu    Um -man- al -das

*I brought out and as spoil I counted.*     *Ummanaldas*
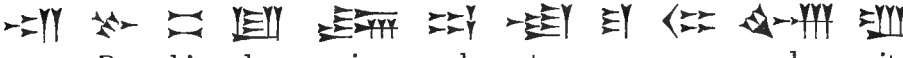
𒀀 𒊹 𒅗𒐊 𒐊 𒈨 76. [𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒊹𒀀]𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒀀 𒈨 𒈨𒐊

șar      Elam      [a - lak umman] ya   sa   ki   rib

*king*   *of*   *Elam,*     *[of the progress of] my [army,] which into*
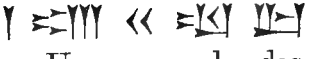
𒊹 𒅗𒐊 𒐊 𒈨 𒈨𒐊 𒈨𒈨 𒊹 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 77. 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒈨𒈨 𒈨𒐊

     Elam     e - ru bu is -mi va       Ma - dak - tu

     *Elam*    *entered;*    *heard,*   *and*       *Madaktu*

𒈨𒐊 𒅗𒈨 𒊹 𒐊 𒈨𒐊 𒈨 𒈨𒐊 𒐊 𒈨 𒈨𒐊 𒈨

alu    șaru - ti   su   u -vas- sir   va    in - na - bit   va

*his*    *royal*   *city*   *he*   *abandoned,*   *and*    *fled*    *and*

𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀        78. 𒀀𒀀𒀀 (v. 𒀀) 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀
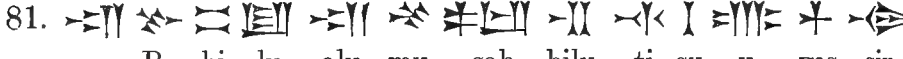
sada su  e - li              Um  (v. Am)  ba - gu - u - a  sa
*his mountains ascended.*     *Um (v. Am)-bagua*      *who*

𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀        79. 𒀀 𒀀𒀀

ul - tu       Elam       ultu  și  hu - u           a - na
*from*        *Elam,*    *from   a   revolt,*         *to*

𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀
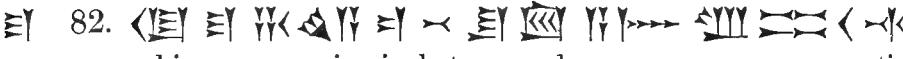
Bu - bi  lu    in - nab  tu  va  me  eh - rit
*Bubilu*      *had   fled,*    *and*    *against*

𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀        80. 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 (v. 𒀀 𒀀) 𒀀
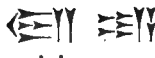
Um - man - al - das            u - si - bu  (v. as - bu)  ina
*Ummanaldas*                   *had    sat    on*       *the*

𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

kuzzu       Elam     ki - ma  sa - a  su  va  is  mi  va
*throne*    *of*    *Elam:*   *like    him   also   heard,   and*

81. 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

Bu - bi - lu  alu  mu - sab  bilu - ti  su  u - vas - sir
*Bubilu   the city the seat of his dominion he abandoned,*

𒀀  82. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

va          ki - ma  nuni  iz - bat su - pul  me  ru - qu - u - ti
*and       like the fishes took  to the depths of the remote waters.*

83. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀

Tam - ma - ri - tu   sa   in - nab - ta  iz  ba - ta
*Tammaritu*        *who*      *fled*    *and*     *took*

𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀        84. 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀

niri  ya            ki - rib      Su - sa  an  u - se - rib
*my yoke,*          *into*     *Shushan  I  caused  to  enter,*

𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀        85. 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀

as - kun  su  a - na  saru  ti              damqati
*I   appointed  him  to  the  kingdom.*      *The good*

𒀲 𒋛 𒁹 𒌨 𒄖 𒋛 𒈾 𒀀𒈾 𒊭 𒄿 𒀉 𒂍
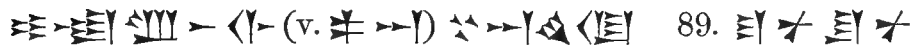
e - pu -su- us as pu ru it taḫ ṣu im - si va

*I had done to him and sent to his aid, he rejected and*

86. 𒀲 𒋛 𒄖 𒀀 𒁹 𒉌 𒊭 𒀀 𒁹 𒋛 𒈾 𒀉
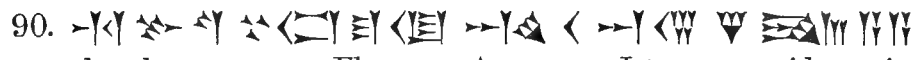
is te - ni - ha a limut tu a na ka - sad

*devised evil to capture*

𒀭 𒊭 𒁹 87. 𒀭 𒁹 𒈾 𒈠 𒅆 𒅗 𒊭 𒁕 𒅗 𒀭 𒆪 𒁹
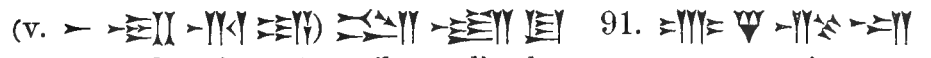
umman ya ki - a - am ig - bi it - ti lib - bi su

*my army. Even he said in his heart*

𒌝 𒈠 𒉌 𒋛 𒂍 88. 𒁹 𒊭 𒅆 𒆠 𒂍
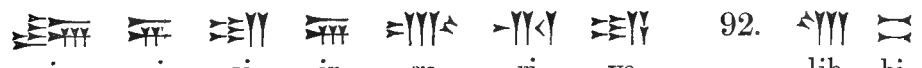
um -ma nisi Elam a na salat - e

*thus : " The people of Elam for a spoil*

𒄿 𒌅 𒊒 ina pan (v. pa -an) 𒊭 𒅗 𒂍 89. 𒈠 𒉡 𒋢 𒉡

i - tu - ru ina pan (v. pa -an) Assur ma-nu su -nu

*have turned, in the face of Assyria. Their * * **

𒁹 𒊑 𒊒 𒁍 𒌋 𒅖 𒋫 𒈾𒁁 𒁕 𒌅

va ir ru bu - u * * * iḫ ta - nab - ba - tu

*has been entered(?) and they have carried away*

90. 𒄷 𒁍 𒌅 Elam Assur va Istar sa ida ai

ḫu - bu -tu Elam Assur va Istar sa ida ai

*the plunder of Elam." Assur and Ishtar who before me*

(v. ina maḫ - ri ya) il li -ku u -sa- zi zu -

(v. *ina mah - ri ya*) il li - ku u -sa- zi zu -

(v. *in my presence) march, and exult*
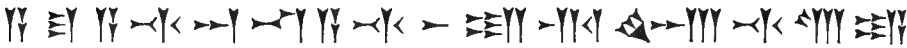
in ni ẓi - ir ga ri ya lib - bi

*me over my enemies ; the heart of*

Tam-ma-.ri tu iq ẓu ba ra -nu -u ip ru -u va

*Tammaritu hard and perverse they broke, and*

93. [cuneiform]

u    ba - hu - u qa - tus - su    ul - tu    kuzzu    ṣaru - ti    su

*took    hold    of    his    hand,    from    the    throne    of    his    kingdom*

94. [cuneiform]

id - ku - nis - suv - va    u - tir - ru - nis - su sa - ni - ya - a - nu

*they    hurled    him,    and    overwhelmed    him,    a    second    time*

95. [cuneiform]                              96. [cuneiform]
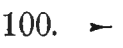
u - sak    ni - su - us    a - na    niri    ya                        su - par

*they    subdued    him    to    my    yoke.                    Concerning*

[cuneiform]

a - ma - a - ti    an - na - a - ti ina    ẓe    ri - iḫ - ti lib    ya

*these    matters,    in    vexation    [was]    my    heart;*

97. [cuneiform]
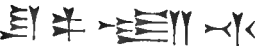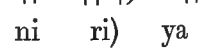
sa    Tam - ma - ri - tu    la    ke    e - nu    iḫ - da - a

*which    Tammaritu    the    younger    offended.*

98. [cuneiform]

ina    li - i - ti    va da - na - ni    sa    Ili    rabati

*In    the    glory    and    power    of    the    great    Gods*

[cuneiform]              99. [cuneiform]

beli    ya                    ki - rib              Elam    a - na

*my lords,              within        Elam,    through    its*

[cuneiform]                              100. [cuneiform]

ṣi - ḫir - ti    sa    at - tal - lak    sal - dis              ina

*extent    I    marched    victoriously.              On*

[cuneiform]

ta - ai - ar - ti    ya    sa    sul - lu - me - e

*my            return,          peace            and*

[cuneiform]    101. [cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]

su - pa - li - ti        pa - an    niri    (v. ni    ri)    ya

*submission            to        my        yoke,*

𒀀 𒋼𒅕 𒊏 𒀀 𒈾 𒀸𒋩    102. 𒂵 𒌅 𒁺

u   tir - ra  a - na   Assur    Ga - tu - du

*I     restored     to     Assyria.*    *Gatudu,*

𒂵 𒌅 𒁺 𒈠    𒁕 𒂊 𒁀    103. 𒈾 𒁲 𒄩
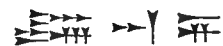
Ga - tu - du - ma    Da - e - ba    Na - di - ha

*Gatuduma,*    *Daeba,*    *Nadiha,*

𒁺 𒄠 𒈾 �really 𒉌    𒁺 𒄠 𒈾 𒉌 𒈠

Dur - am - na - ni    Dur - am - na - ni - ma

*Duramnani,*    *Duramnanima,*

104. 𒄩 𒈠 �monu    𒋫 𒊏 �qu    𒄩 𒀀𒄿 𒌋 𒍢

Ḫa - ma - nu    Ta - ra - qu    Ḫa - ai  u  ṣi

*Hamanu,*    *Taraqu,*    *Haiusi,*

105. 𒂍 �micro 𒃷    𒂍 𒅈 𒊏 𒁉
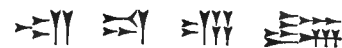
Bit  tag - gil - bit - ṣu    Bit - ar - ra - bi

*Bittaggilbitsu,*    *Bitarrabi,*

106. 𒂍 𒅎 𒁉 𒀉    𒈠 𒁖 𒌅    𒋗 𒊓 �an

Bit - im - bi - i    Ma - dak - tu    Su - sa - an

*Bitimbi,*    *Madaktu,*    *Shushan,*

107. 𒁍 𒁉 𒂊    𒋼 𒈠𒊒𒁾 𒊬 �an 𒉌

Bu - be - e    Te - maruduk  ṣar - an - ni

*Bube,*    *Temaruduksaranni,*

(v. 𒋼 𒈠𒊒𒁾 𒊬 𒀀 𒉌)    108. 𒌫 𒁕 𒇷 𒅗

(v.   Te - maruduk - ṣar - a - ni)    Ur - da  li  ka

*Urdalika,*

𒀠 𒂵 𒊑 �ni 𒂵    109.    𒌅 𒌋 𒁍

Al - ga - ri - ga    Tu  u - bu

*Algariga,*    *Tubu,*

�range 𒌇 𒌅 𒌋 𒁍    110.    𒁺 𒌦 𒊬

Tul - tu - u  bu    Du  un - ṣar

*Tultubu,*    *Dunsar,*

Dur - un - da - și          Dur - un - da - și - ma
*Durundasi,*                *Durundasima,*

111.  Bu   bi - lu      Sa   am - u - nu      Bu - na - ki
      *Bubilu,*               *Samunu,*              *Bunaki,*

112.  Qa - ab - ri      na          Qa - ab - ri - na - ma
      *Qabrina,*                    *Qabrinama*

Ḫa - ra - ha      113.  alani   su - nu - ti   ak - su - ud
*and   Haraba,*          *their   cities,   I   captured,*

ab - bul   aq - qur      114.  ina   isati   ak - mu   Ili   su - nu
*pulled down, destroyed,*      *in   the   fire   I   burned;   their   Gods,*

nisi      su - nu      115.  alpi   su - nu   ze - e   ni
*their   people,*            *their   oxen,   their*

( v.  (v. zeni)      su - nu   sa   su   su - nu   sa   ga   su - nu
      *sheep,*                *their   furniture,   their   goods,*

116.  zu - um - bi         susi               pare
      *carriages,*         *horses,*          *mules,*

117.  bat - li   u - nu   tu   ta - ḫa - zi   as - lu - la
      *and   weapons,   instruments   of   war,   I   carried   off*

a    na          Assur
*to*             *Assyria.*

K, 2656. Restored from Fragments of Duplicates.

*a.* 𒀭𒈬𒌋 𒁕 𒋛 𒀸 𒀜 𒋫 𒈪 𒌈

Um -man- al   da   și   ablu   At   ta -mi- tu

*Ummanaldas   son   of   Attamitu,*

𒌋 𒋛 𒁍 ina   kuzzu   Elam   *b.*   Tam-ma- ri -tu

u - si -bu ina   kuzzu   Elam   Tam-ma- ri -tu

*sat   on   the   throne   of   Elam.   Tammaritu*

as-su de   e - ni su   va   a- lak   it - taḫ su ina   ki - bit

*for his sentence, and for going to his aid; by command of*
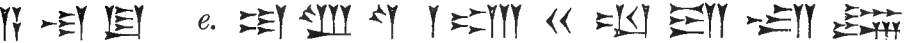
Assur va   Nergal   u - zal   la -a bel- u   ti   *c.*   a - na   ku

*Assur and Nergal, submitted to my dominion.   I am*
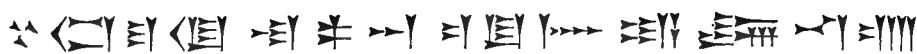
Assur -bani- pal lib - bu   rap -su la - ka   żir   ik   ki - mu

*Assurbanipal   of generous   heart,   of defection   the   remover.*

ina tugul- ti   Assur va   Nergal   Ili   ti   ik - li   ya

*In the   service   of Assur   and   Nergal   the   Gods   my protectors*
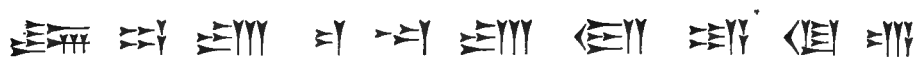
*d.*   sa   ni   a - nu   ad   ki   umman   ya   żi   ir

  *a   second   time   I   gathered   my   army;   against*

Um -man- al   da   și   șar   E - lam · ti   ag   ba   a

  *Ummanaldas   king   of   Elam,   I   commanded*

a la - ku   *e.*   aḍ ru -ud   Um -man- al   da   șu   șar

  *to   go.   I   drove   back   Ummanaldas   king   of*
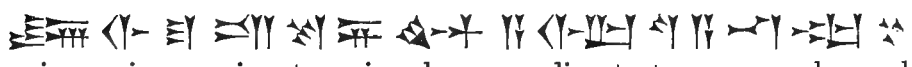
Elam        la pa - an    kakki    ya    in - na - bit
*Elam;    from    the    face    of    my    soldiers    he    fled*

va    sa - da - a su - e    li    *f.*    Tam - ma - ri - tu    sa
*and    his    mountain    ascended.        Tammaritu        who*

in - nab -    ta    iẓ ba - ta    niri    ya    ki - rib
*fled        and        took        my        yoke,        in*

Su - sa    an    as    kuṇ    su    a - na    ṣar    u - ti
*Shushan    I    appointed    him    to    the    kingdom.*

*g.*    damqatu    e    pu - su - us    sa    as - pu - ru    it - taḥ    ṣu
*The    benefits    I    had    done    to    him    and    had    sent    to    his    aid,    he*

in - si    va    is - te    ni    ha - a    limut - tu    a - na    ka - sad
*despised        and        devised        evil,            to        capture*
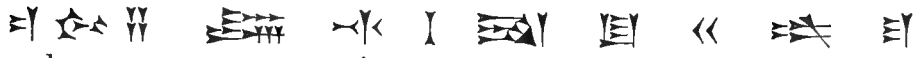
ummani    ya    *h.*    Assur    ṣar    Ili    Nergal be - lu
*my    army.        Assur    king    of    the    Gods    and    Nergal    the    lord*

ẓi    i    ru    sa    ina    maḥ - ri    ya    il - la - ku
*mighty,        who        in        my        presence        march*
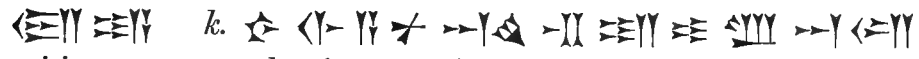
u    sa - zi - zu    in    ni    ẓi    ir    ga - ri    ya
*and        exalt        me        over        my        enemies,*
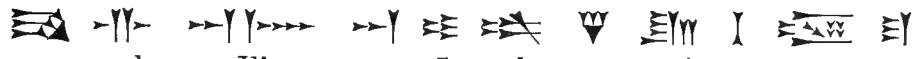
*i.*    lib    bi    Tam - ma - ri - tu    iq    ṣu    ba    ra - nu ip - ru
*the    heart    of    Tammaritu    hard    and    perverse    they    broke,*

𒂵 𒀜𒅆 𒐕 𒂠 𒐕 𒀠𒁕 𒀀𒊑𒋳 𒐖   *j.* 𒈨𒉿 𒀀𒊑

va  im - nu -  u   su  qa - tu   u   a        ul - tu

*and   delivered   him   into   my   hand.       From*

𒂵 𒆪𒍪 𒐖   𒊬𒁲   𒋢   𒐕 𒀉   𒆪   𒐖   𒉌𒋢   𒂵

kuzzu       saru - ti   su   id  -  ku   nis - suv   va

*his   royal   throne   they   hurled   him   and*

𒌋 �necessary 𒋳 𒊬 𒐕 𒌋 𒊺 𒀸 𒐕 𒊬 𒐖 𒀀𒈾

u   tir - ni   suv - va   u   sak - ni -su - us   a - na

*overturned   him,   and   subdued   him   to*

𒉌𒌷 𒅀   *k.* 𒊮 𒋛𒀀𒉡 Assur bel- ẓi - i - ru   Nergal

niri   ya       sal  si -a-nu  Assur bel- ẓi - i - ru   Nergal

*my  yoke.    A  third  time  Assur  the  mighty  lord,  Nergal*

�qar - rad   Ili       I   tak   sa   qati  su   az   ma

*warrior  of  the  Gods, and  Itak  whose  hands  are  powerful,*

u  -tak- ki  lu  ni va  a - na       Elam     ig  bu - ni

*protected   me,   and   to   Elam   they   commanded*

𒐖 𒂊 𒈨   *l.* 𒂊𒐕 𒐗 𒀭𒀜𒐖 𒐕 𒊺, &c.

a - la - ku           Bit -  im   bi   i, &c.

*to   go.           Bitimbi,   &c.*

Here follows the second war with Ummanaldas, the same as Cylinder A, col. v, line 121 and following.

The first war with Ummanaldas appears to have had for its object the restoration of Tammaritu, the fugitive king of Elam. The principal event of the campaign was the capture of Bit-imbi; after which, Ummanaldas abandoned his capital, and fled to the mountains. Tammaritu, who was then restored to the throne, soon revolted, and was deposed by Assurbanipal; the country coming once more under the sway of Ummanaldas.
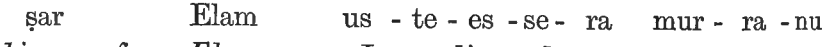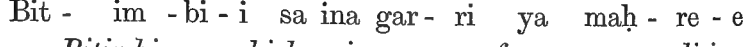
# PART XI.

### The Second War with Ummanaldas.

#### TEXTS.

The texts of the second war with Ummanaldas are Cylinder A, col. v, line 118 to col. vii, line 96 ; two Epigraphs ; several Extracts from Historical Tablets ; and K, 3062.
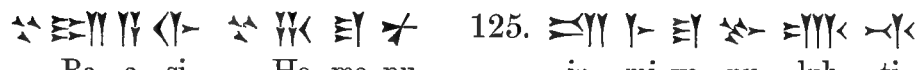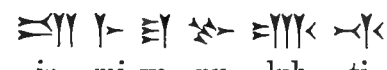
CYLINDER A, COLUMN V, LINES 118 TO 125.
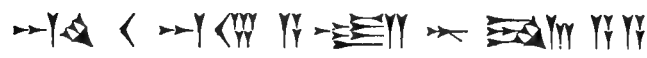
118. 𒀭 𒈾 samne gar - ri ya ina ki - bit Assur va
*In my eighth expedition, by command of Assur and*

𒅗 119. ad - ki umman ya ẓir Um -man- al -das
*Ishtar,*     *I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas*
Istar

120. ṣar    Elam    us - te - es - se- ra   mur - ra -nu
*king of Elam   I   directed   the   march.*

121. Bit - im -bi - i sa ina gar - ri ya mah - re - e
*Bitimbi,   which   in   my   former   expedition*

122. ak - su - du   e - nin - na    Ra - a - si    Ḥa-ma-nu
*I had captured,   again     Rasi,     Hamanu,*

123. 𒀭 ⟨𒅗 ⟩ 𒀭 𒁹 𒁲 𒂍 𒄿 ⟨𒄿𒈗 𒂍 ⟨

a - di na gi su ak - su - ud va su u

*and that district I captured; and he*

𒁹𒈨𒊩 𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒌋 𒀭 124. 𒌋𒌋 𒋛 ⟨𒀀 𒂍 ⟨𒂍 𒁕𒂍 𒋛
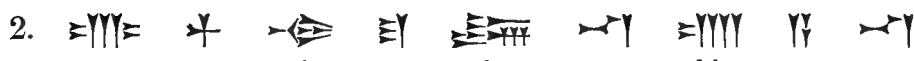
Um -man- al -das sar Elam ka -sad

*Ummanaldas king of Elam, of the capture of*

𒋛 𒂍𒐊 𒐊 ⟨𒁁 𒋛 𒐊𒈾 𒂍 𒌋 125. 𒂍𒐊 𒁹 𒂍 𒋛 𒂍𒐊 𒀖
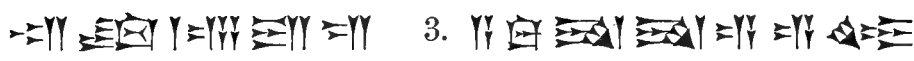
Ra -a- si Ha -ma -nu is - mi va pu - luḫ - ti

*Rasi and Hamanu heard, and fear of*

𒀭𒀀 ⟨ 𒀭𒁹⟨𒌋 𒐊𒁲𒂍𒐊 𒍑 𒂍𒈨𒐊 𒐊𒐊

Assur va Istar a - li -kut ida - ai

*Assur and Ishtar going before me*

COLUMN VI.

1. 𒂍𒀭𒋛 𒁹 𒂍 𒁲𒐊 𒂍 𒈨𒀭𒂍 𒁲𒐊 𒂍𒈨𒀖 𒀖𒁹

iṣ -ḫu -pu su va Ma -dak -tu alu ṣaru - ti su

*overwhelmed him, and Madaktu his royal city*

2. 𒂍𒐊𒂍 𒍚 𒁕𒂍 𒂍 𒂍𒈨𒀖 𒀭𒁹 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒀭𒁹

u - vas - sir va in - na - bit a - na

*he abandoned, and fled to*

𒀭𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒁉 𒁹𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒀭𒐊 3. 𒐊 𒁉 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒀭𒈨

Dur - un - da - si It - it e e - bir

*Durundasi. The Itite, he crossed,*

𒂍𒐊 𒐊𒁉 𒂍𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒀭𒐊 4. 𒐊 𒀭𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒍚 𒀖𒐊 𒁹 𒂍𒐊 𒀭𒐊𒀖

va nahr su -a- tu a - na dan -nu -ti su is - kun

*and that river for his stronghold he fixed,*

5. 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊𒐊 (v. 𒂍𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊𒐊) 𒐊 𒀭𒐊𒐊 𒀖𒐊 𒂍𒐊𒐊

uk - ta - ta -zir uk - taz -zir a - na ẓal- ti ya

*and arranged in ranks to fight me.*

6. [cuneiform]

Na - di - tu    alu    ṣaru    ti    va    (v. a - di)    na - gi

*Naditu    the    royal    city    and    its    district*

[cuneiform]

su    ak -su-ud        Bit - bu - na    ki    alu    ṣaru - ti    * *

*I captured,*        *Bitbunaki    the    royal    city    ditto,*

8. [cuneiform]                                    9. [cuneiform]

Ḫar -dap-a-nu    alu    ṣaru    ti    * *                    Tu - u  -bu

*Hardapanu    the    royal    city    ditto,*                    *Tubu*

[cuneiform]            10. [cuneiform]

alu    ṣaru - ti    * *                bi - rit    nahr    ka - la - mu

*the    royal    city    ditto,*                *beside    all    the    river,*

[cuneiform]            11. [cuneiform]

Ma- dak - tu    alu    ṣaru - ti    * *                    Ḫal - te -ma- as

*Madaktu    the    royal    city    ditto,*                    *Haltemas*

[cuneiform]            12. [cuneiform]
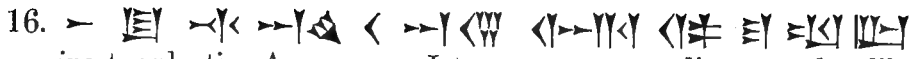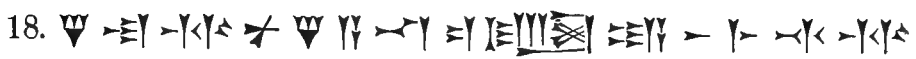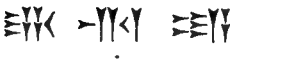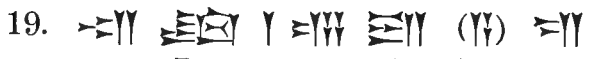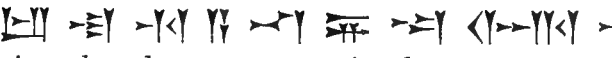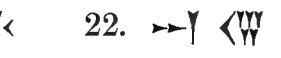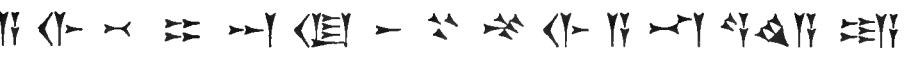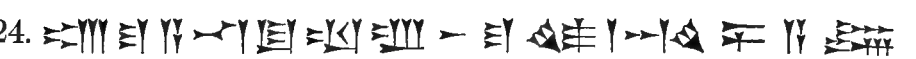
alu    ṣaru    ti    su    ak    su - ud                Su - sa - an

*his    royal    city    I    captured,*                *Shushan*

[cuneiform]            13. [cuneiform]

alu    ṣaru    ti    su    ak    su -ud                Di - in    ṣar

*his    royal    city    I    captured,*                *Dinsar,*

[cuneiform]            14. [cuneiform]

Ṣu -mu-un    tu - na -as    * *                Pi - di    il -ma

*Sumuntunas        ditto,*                *Pidilmá*

[cuneiform]            [cuneiform]

alu    ṣaru - ti    su                Bu - bi - lu    * *

*his    royal    city,*                *Bubilu        ditto,*

15. [cuneiform]

Ka    bi    in - ak    (alu    ṣaru - ti    su)    * *

*Kabinak        (his    royal    city)    ditto.*

16. 𒁹 𒀭 𒌅 𒋾 Assur va Istar 𒅈 di va al lik
ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar ar di va al lik
*In the service of Assur and Ishtar I marched and went*

17. zir Um -man- al da și șar Elam
zir Um -man- al da și șar Elam
*after Ummanaldas king of Elam,*

18. sa la ik -nu-sa a - na niri ya ina mi- ti - iq
sa la ik -nu-sa a - na niri ya ina mi- ti - iq
*who did not submit to my yoke. In the course*

gar - ri ya    19. Dur - un - da (-a) și
gar - ri ya    Dur - un - da (-a) și
*of my expedition,    Durundasi*

alu șaru ti su ak su ud    20. umman ya
alu șaru ti su ak su ud    umman ya
*his royal city I captured.    My army*

It - it - e a gu-u u - ru    21. e -mu-ru
It - it - e a gu-u u - ru    e -mu-ru
*the Itite in high flood    saw, and*

ip - la - ḫu a - na ni - ba - ar ti    22. Istar
ip - la - ḫu a - na ni - ba - ar ti    Istar
*feared the crossing.    Ishtar*

a - si -bat Arba- il    ina sat mu - si a - na umman ya
a - si -bat Arba- il    ina sat mu - si a - na umman ya
*dwelling in Arbela, in the middle of the night to my army*

23. suttu u sap - ri va ki -a-am ig bi su- nu
suttu u sap - ri va ki -a-am ig bi su- nu
*a dream sent, and even told them,*

24. um -ma a - na -ku al - lak ina ma- ḫar Assur -bani-pal șar
um -ma a - na -ku al - lak ina ma- ḫar Assur -bani-pal șar
*thus: "I march in front of Assurbanipal, the king*

25. [cuneiform]
sa  ib - na - a  qata  ai   e    li   suttu   an - ni - ti
*whom   my   hands   made." Over   that   vision*

26. [cuneiform]
umman  ya   ir  ḫu   ẓu        It - it - e   e - bi - ru
*my   army   rejoiced,  and   the   Itite   crossed*

[cuneiform]     27. [cuneiform]
sal - mis          14   alani   mu - sab   ṣaru - ti   a - di
*peacefully.   Fourteen   cities   royal   seats,   and*

[cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform])     28. [cuneiform]
alani   ẓihruti   (v. ẓi   hi - ru - ti)        sa   ni - i - ba
*smaller   cities*                                *the   numbers*

[cuneiform]     29. [cuneiform]
la   i - su - u   va   12   na - ge - e        sa   ki - rib
*unknown,   and   twelve   districts*           *which   are in*

[cuneiform]     30. [cuneiform]
Elam   ka - li   su - nu   ak - su - ud        ab - bul
*Elam,   all   of   them   I   took,       I pulled down,*

[cuneiform]
aq   qur   ina   isati   ak - mu   a - na   tuli   va   gar - mi
*destroyed,   in   the   fire   I   burned,   and   to   mounds   and   heaps*

[cuneiform]     31. [cuneiform]
u - tir            ina   la   mi - ni   a - duk   qu - ra - de - e su
*I reduced.       Without   number   I   slew   his   warriors,*

32. [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform] ([cuneiform])
ina   kakki      u - ra - aṣ - ṣib   mun - taḫ - ẓe - (e)
*with   the   sword   I   destroyed   his   powerful*

[cuneiform] (v. [cuneiform])     33. [cuneiform]
su   zirati   (v. ẓi - ru - ti)        Um - man - al - das   ṣar
*fighting   men.*                       *Ummanaldas   king   of*

𒀀 𒀭 Elam 34. me ra -nu- us -su in - na- bit va

*Elam*     *in*    *his*    *bitterness*    *fled,*    *and*

iẓ - ba - ta sadu- u     35. Ba - nu- nu a - di

*took to the mountain.*     *Banunu*     *and*

na - ge - e sa Ta - ṣa - ra     36. ka - la- mu

*the*    *districts*    *of*    *Tasara*     *all,*

20 alani ina na - ge - e     37. sa Ḫu- un- nir

*twenty cities in the districts*     *of*    *Hunnir,*

ina eli mi (v. me) -iṣ- ri sa Ḫi- da - li (v. lu)

*by*    *the*    *boundary*    *of*    *Hidalu,*

ak -su-ud     38. Ba - lim - mu va alani sa

*I captured.*     *Balimmu*    *and*    *the*    *cities*

li -mi - ti -su     39. ab bul aq - qur sa nisi

    *round*     *it,*    *I pulled down and destroyed. Of the people*

a -sib lib - bi su- nu     40. ka mar su- nu as - kun

*dwelling within them,*     *their*    *misfortune*    *I*    *caused,*
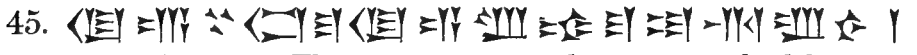
u - sab - bir Ili su- un     41. u - sap - si iḫ

*I*    *broke*    *up*    *their*    *Gods,*     *I set at liberty the*

(Ilu) ka - bat - ti bel beli     42. Ili su

*great Goddess of the lord of lords,*     *his Gods,*

Istari    su sa - su  su sa - ga  su    nisi    zihruti va rabati
*his Goddesses,  his furniture,  his goods,  people  small  and great,*

43.  as - lu - la   a - na        Assur   60 kas - pu qaq- qa - ru
     *I   carried   off   to   Assyria.   Sixty   kaspu of ground,*
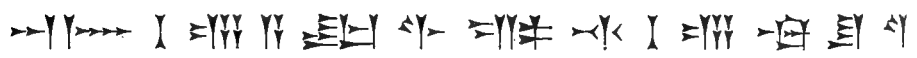
44.  ina a -mat Assur va  Istar  sa   u -ma- hi - ru   in  ni
     *by  the  will of Assur and Ishtar   who    sent    me,*

45.  ki - rib       Elam    e   ru  ub va at - tal - lak sal-dis
     *within    Elam   I   entered  and  marched  victoriously.*
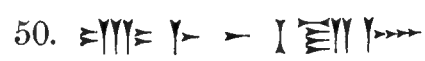
46.  ina   ta - ay    ar    ti   ya  sa Assur va  Istar
     *On    my    return,   when   Assur  and  Ishtar*

u - sa - zi - zu   in - ni           zir   ga   ri   ya
*exalted          me            over   my   enemies,*

Su - sa - an  ma - ha - zu   rab   u         mu - sab
*Shushan     the    great    city,         the seat of*

Ili   su- un  a - sar   pi   sak  ti su- un   ak - su - ud
*their  Gods,  the   place  of  their  oracle,  I  captured.*

(v. aksud)    49.      ina  a -mat Assur va   Istar   ki - rib
              *By  the  will of Assur and Ishtar,  into*

e - kal - i  su e  ru  ub      50.  u - sib ina   hidati
*its  palaces  I  entered         and  sat  with rejoicing.*

51. ap-te- e va bit na (v. nak) -kam-a- ti su-nu sa
*I opened also their treasure houses, of*

kasap (-i) ḫuraẓ (-i) sa-su (-i) sa- ga (-i)
*silver, gold, furniture and goods,*

nu - uk - ku - mu ki rib su - un 52. sa ṣarri
*treasured within them; which the kings of*

Elam maḫ - ru ti 53. a- di ṣarri sa
*Elam the former, and the kings who*

a- di lib bi im-mi an -ne - e 54. u paḫ-ḫi-ru
*were to these days, had gathered*

is - ku - nu sa nakiru sa nam -ma 55. e - li
*and made; which any other enemy beside*

ya - a- si (v. ai - si) qat ṣu la u -bi- lu ina lib-bi
*me, his hands had not put into them,*

56. u -se-ẓa-av -va ṣal- la -tis am -nu 57. kasap (-i)
*I brought out and as spoil I counted. Silver,*

ḫuraẓ (-i) sa-su (-i) sa- ga (-i) sa Sumiri
*gold, furniture and goods, of Sumir*

(va) Akkadi va Gan- dun -i-as ka -la -mu 58.
*(and) Akkad and Gandunias, all that*

𒑐 𒑐 𒑐          59. 𒀸 𒌋 𒑐 𒅗 𒈠 𒊒 𒋾 𒀀 𒁲

| sa | ṣarri | | Elam | maḫ | ru | ti | a- | di |
| the | kings | of | Elam, | | the | former | | and |

[𒑐] 𒐊 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐          60. 𒅇 𒁉 𒈗 𒅗 𒀸

| [arku] | -su | is | -lu | -lu | | u | -bi | lu | ki | -rib |
| [latter,] | had | carried | off | | | and | brought | | | within |

𒀸 𒌋 𒑐 𒅗 𒐊 𒑐 𒈗 𒀀 𒑐 𒌋          61. 𒌍 𒑐 𒈗 𒌋

| Elam | za- | ri | -ru | russu | u | | es | -ma | -ru | -u |
| Elam; | | bronze | hammered, | | | | | hard(?), | and | |

𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒐖 𒀸 𒑐 𒈗 𒑐 𒐊 𒑐 𒑐 𒐊 𒐊

| ib | -bu | ni | -sik | -ti | abni | su | -qut | -tu | a | -gar | -tu |
| | pure, | precious | | stones | | beautiful | and | | valuable, | | |

62. 𒑐 𒀸 𒑐 𒅗 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒀸 𒑐 𒅗

| ṣi | -mat | ṣaru | -ti | sa | | ṣarri | | Akkad |
| belonging | to | royalty; | | which | kings | of | Akkad | |

𒑐 𒈗 𒌋 𒅗          63. 𒅗 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒀸 𒑐 𒐊

| maḫ | -ru | -u- | ti | | va | | Saul | -mu- | gi | -na |
| former | ones | | | and | | | Saulmugina, | | | |

𒐊 𒑐 𒈗 𒑐 𒐊 𒀸 𒑐 𒈗 𒈗          64. 𒐊 𒑐 𒀸 𒌋 𒑐 𒅗

| a | -na | kit | -ri | su- | nu | ip | -su | -ru | | a | -na | Elam |
| for | their | aid | | had | paid | | | | | to | | Elam: |

𒈗 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒀸 𒑐 𒅗          65. 𒑐 𒑐

| lu | -bul | -tu | su | -qut | -tu | ṣi | -mat | ṣaru | -ti | | bat | -li |
| garments | beautiful, | | belonging | to | royalty, | | | | | | weapons | |

𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒌋 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐          66. 𒑐 𒀸

| qa | -ra | -bi | ṣi | -ma- | nu- | u | nin | e | -pis | taḫaz | | ṣi | -mat |
| of | war, | | prepared | for | one | to | make | battle, | | | | suited | |

𒑐 𒐊 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒑐 𒐊

| qati | su | u | -nu | ti | mut | -tab- | bil | -tu | e | -kal- | i | su |
| to | his | hand, | | instruments | | furnishing | | | his | palaces, | | |

67.

ka   la -mu su ina   eli   u - si - bu   it - ti bibbu(?)
*all   that   within   it   was   placed,   with   the   food*

68.

ina lib - bi  e - ku - lu   is   tu - u ir - mu - ku  ip - pa - as - su
*in the midst [which] he ate and drank, and the couch he reclined on,*
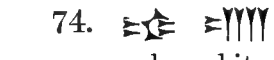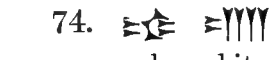
69.

ruqubi   iz   sa   sa - da - di     zu - um - bi
*powerful         war         chariots,*

70.

sa   aḥ - zu   si   na za - ri - ri   za - ḫa - lu   u
*of   which   their   ornaments   were   bronze   and   paint,*

71.                                               72.

susi         pare         rabati         sa
*horses   and   great   mules,   of   which*

tal lap - ta   su - nu   ḫuraẓ   kasap   as - lu   la   a - na
*their   trappings   were   gold   and   silver,   I   carried   off   to*

73.

Assur                   zik - kur - rat         Su - sa - an   sa ina
*Assyria.          The   tower   of   Shushan,   which   in   the*

74.

a - ḥi - ri   uk - ni   su - pu - lat         ub - bit
*lower   part   in   marble(?)   was   laid,         I destroyed.*

u   kip - pi - ra   gar - rim  (v. garrim)   sa   sa   pi   tiq
*I   broke   through   its   top,   which   was   covered   with*

75.

eru   nam - ri         Susinaq(?)   Ilu   pi - sak   ti
*shining bronze.     Susinaq(?) the God of their oracle,*

su - un    sa   as - bu   ina   bu    uz - ra - a - ti              sa
  *who  dwelt  in  the   groves;    whom*

man - ma - an    la    im - ma - ru    ip - sit    ilu - ti    su - (ni)
 *any one had not seen the image of his divinity,*

77.  Su - mu - du      La - ga - ma - ru
     *Sumudu,*       *Lagomer,*

Pa - ar - ti - ki - ra   78. Am - man - ka - ṣi - bar
  *Partikira,*      *Ammankasibar,*

U - du - ra - an  Ṣa - pa - ak  79. sa ṣarri
  *Uduran  and  Sapak; of whom the kings*
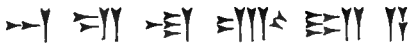
Elam   ip - tal  (v. ta - na) la - ḫu
*of Elam    worship*

Ilu - uṣ - ṣu - un   80.  Ra gi - ba
*their divinity.*      *Ragiba,*

Ṣu - un - gur - ṣa - ra - a   Ka - ar - ṣa
 *Sumugursara,*     *Karsa,*
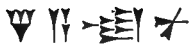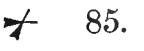
81. Ki - ir - ṣa - ma - aṣ .  Su - du - nu
   *Kirsamas,*      *Sudunu,*
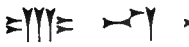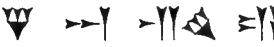
Ai - pa - ak - ṣi - na   82. Bi - la - la
 *Aipaksina,*       *Bilala,*

Pa - ni - in - tim - ri
*Panintimri,*

Și - la - ga - ra - a
*Silagara,*

83. Na - ap - ṣa - a
*Napsa,*

Na - bir - tu
*Nabirtu and*

Ki in da - kar - bu
*Kindakarbu,*

84. Ili Istari
*these Gods and*
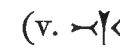
sa - a - tu - nu it - ti su - qut - ti su - nu
*Goddesses, with their valuables,*

85. sa ga su - nu
*their goods,*

u - na - ti su - nu a - di sa - an - ge - e
*their furniture, and priests, and*
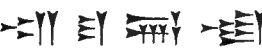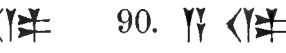
86. (🔲) bu - uḫ la - le e as - lu la a - na
*worshippers, I carried off to*
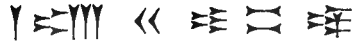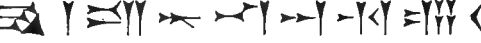
Assur
*Assyria.*

87. 32 zalam (-i) ṣarri
*Thirty-two statues of kings,*

pi - tiq (v. ti - iq) kasap ḫuraz eru
*fashioned of silver, gold, bronze*

88. 
*and*

ṣamul - rab ul - tu ki rib Su - sa - an
*alabaster, from out of Shushan,*

89. Ma - dak - tu Ḫu ra - di
*Madaktu and Huradi,*

90. a - di
*and*

zalam    Um -man- i -gas ablu   Um - ba - da - ra -a

*a   statue   of   Ummanigas   son   of   Umbadara,*

91.    zalam    Is -tar- na -an -ḫu -un   di    zalam

*a   statue   of   Istarnanhundi,    a   statue   of*
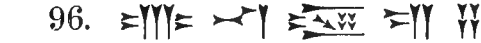
Ḫal- lu - ṣi    92.   zalam   Tam-ma- ri -tu   arku - u

*Halludus     and a statue of   Tammaritu   the   later,*

93.   sa ina   ki   bit Assur va   Istar   e -pu -su ardu-u-ti

*who by command of Assur and Ishtar made submission to me,*

94.   al -qa- a   a - na    Assur    ad- ka - a    sedi

*I   brought   to   Assyria.    I   broke   the   winged   lions*
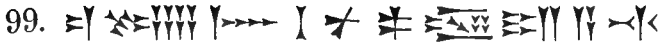
95.   alapi     maẓartu     su -par   e -sir ma- la

*and    bulls   watching   over   the   temple,   all*
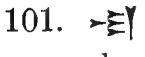
ba   su - u     96.    u   na   aṣ   ṣi - ḫa    remi

*there were.     I   removed   the   winged*
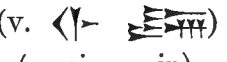
na -at -ru - ti   ṣi -mat    babani     97.   es - re - e - ti

*bulls   attached   to   the   gates   of      the   temples   of*

Elam     a   di   la   ba   se - e   u - sal - pit

*Elam,     until   they   were   not,   I   overturned.*
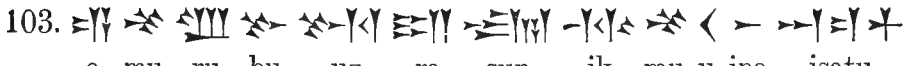
98.   Ili   su    Istari    su am - na - a   a - na   za- ki - ki

*His   Gods   and   his   Goddesses   I   sent   into   captivity,*

99. 𒀭 ... ... kisti su-nu pa- az - ra -a- ti 100. ... sa nin
their forest groves, which any
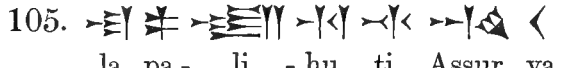
a- ḫu - u la u - ṣar - ru ina lib - bi 101. la
other had not penetrated into the midst, had not
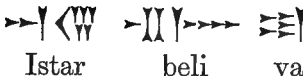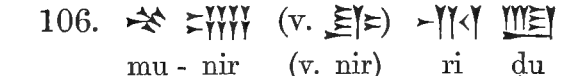
i - kib - ba - ṣu i - ta sun (v. si - in)
trodden their outskirts;
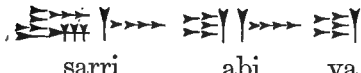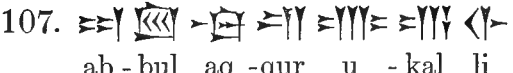
102. ẓabi taḫaz ya ki rib sun e - ru bu
my men of war into them entered,

103. e -mu- ru bu uz ra sun ik -mu-u ina isatu
saw their groves, and burned [them] in the fire.
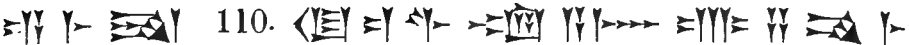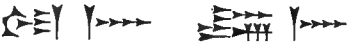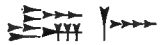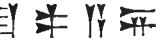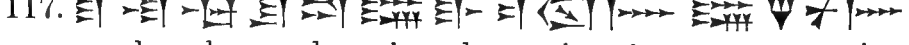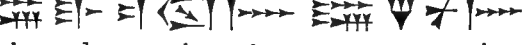
104. asar ẓirati ṣarri su-nu maḫ - ru - ti arku i
The high places of their kings, former and latter,

(v. ar -ku- i) 105. la pa- li -ḫu ti Assur va
not fearing Assur and

Istar beli ya 106. mu - nir (v. nir) ri ḍu
Ishtar my lords, opposers of the

ṣarri abi ya 107. ab - bul aq -qur u - kal li
kings my fathers, I pulled down, destroyed and burnt

sam- si 108. ner-pad-du i su-nu al -qa-a a -na
in the sun. Their attendants I brought to

109. 𒀸𒋩 — Assur / Assyria,

109. e - kim - mi su - nu  la  za - la - lu
     their  leaders  without  shelter

110. e - mi - id
     I placed.

110. ki - iz - pi  sati  me  u - za - am - mi
     The wells of drinking water I dried them

111. su - nu - ti
     up,

111. ma - lak  araḥ  25  immi  na - ge - e
     for a journey of a month and twenty-five days the districts

Elam  u - saḥ  rib
of Elam  I  laid  waste,

112. dabu ( - u ) ebiltu
     destruction, servitude

ḫasasu  u  sap  pi - ḫa  zir - us - su - un
and  drought  I  poured  over  them.

113. binti  ṣarri  ninati  ṣarri
     The  daughters  of  kings,  consorts  of  kings,

114. a - di  qi - in - ni  maḥ - ri  ti  va  arku - ti
     and  families  former  and  latter

115. sa  ṣarri  Elam  ki - pa - a - ni
     of  the  kings  of  Elam,  the  governors  and

116. ḫa - za - na  a - ti  sa  alani.  sa - a - tu - nu
     citizens  of  those  cities,

117. ma - la  ak - su - du  nis rab  mitpani  ·sanuti
     all  I had captured; the commanders of archers, prefects,

118. 𒐲 𒐲 𒐲 𒐲 𒐲 𒐲 𒐲 𒐲 𒐲

mugil      supa     i     nis   3  ḫu - ṣi - i

*directors     of     \*  \*,    three   horse   charioteers*

119.

nis  sa bat-ḫal- li     ẓab -mitpanu     sak - i

*chariot     drivers,     archers,     officers,*

120.

kit - kit - tu va   gi - mir   um -ma-a-ni ma-la

*camp followers(?)  and  the  whole  of  the  army,  all*

ba - su - u     121.  nisi   zikri va sinnis  zihruti  va rabati

*there was,     people  male  and  female,  small  and  great,*

susi     122.  pare     imiri

*horses,     mules,     asses,*
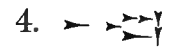
alpi  va  ẓe - e - ni   123.  e  li  (v. eli)  salati

*oxen  and  sheep,     beside     much*
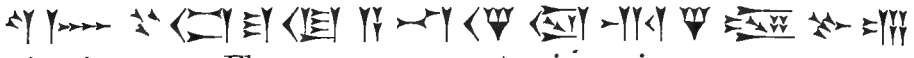
ma- ḫa -du as-lu- la a - na     Assur

*spoil,  I  carried  off  to  Assyria.*

COLUMN VII.
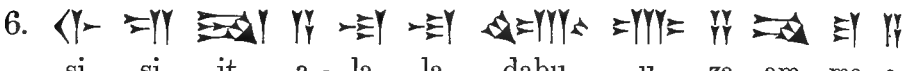
1.  epiri     Su - sa - an     Ma - dak - tu

*The  dust  of  Shushan,     Madaktu,*
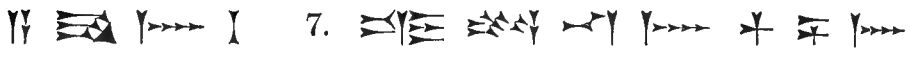
2.  Ḫal-te -ma- as  va  ṣi - it  ti ma ḫa- zi  sun

*Haltemas,  and  the  rest  of  their  cities,*

2 H
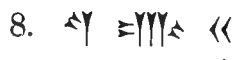
3. 〓〓 〓〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓     4. 〓 〓〓

e - ris   al - qa - a   a - na        Assur        ina araḥ

*entirely    I        brought       to        Assyria.      For a month*

〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓
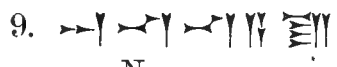
immi          Elam       a - na  pat  gim - ri  sa   aṣ   pu - un

*and   a   day,   Elam       to    its    utmost   extent   I   swept;*

5. 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓

ri - kim   amiluti    ki - bi - iṣ   alpi   va   ẓe   e   ni

*the   passage   of   men,   the   treading   of   oxen   and   sheep,*
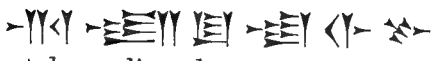
6. 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓

si - ṣi - it   a - la - la   ḍabu   u - ẓa - am - ma - a

*and   the   springing   up   of   good   trees (?)   I   burnt   off*

〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓     7. 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓 〓 〓〓

a   gar - i   su        imiri   ẓin   na - i        dassi

*his   fields.        Wild        asses,        serpents(?)*

〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓     8. 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓

u - ma - am   ẓin   u   gal  ḥu - u        par - ga   nis

*beasts   of   the   desert   and   ugalhus,        safely*
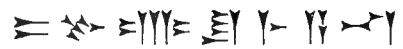
〓〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓     9. 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓

u   sar - bi - ẓa   ki   rib  su - un        Na  na - a   sa

*I   caused   to   lay   down   in   them.        Nana,   who*

〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓     10. 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓

1,635        sanat an - na - i        ta   aṣ - bu - su

1,635        *years*        *had been desecrated,*
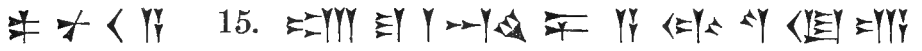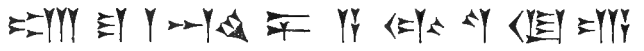
〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓     11. 〓〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓

tal - li   ku   tu - si - bu        ki - rib        Elam

*had   gone,   and   dwelt        in        Elam,*
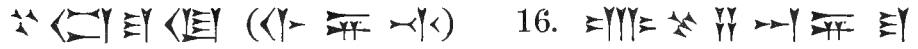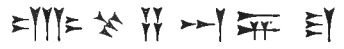
〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓     12. 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓 〓〓 〓〓 〓〓

a - sar   la   ṣi - ma - ti   sa        va   i - na  im - mi su va si - i

*a place not appointed to her;        and   in   those   days,   she*
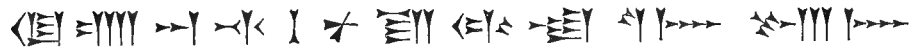
𒀭𒈗 𒈾 𒊑𒋫 𒈨𒅴 13. 𒈨 𒊭 𒈨𒅴 𒀀 𒈾 𒊬
va     Ili     abi     sa       tab-bu   u   su-mi a-na
*and the Gods her fathers,*      *proclaimed my name to the*
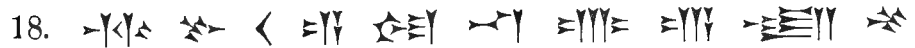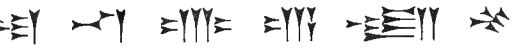
𒈨 𒅴𒊬 𒀭 𒀭 14. 𒈨𒅴 𒋫𒋫 𒀭 𒈨 𒈾 𒅴 𒀀 𒊑 𒈨 𒅴
be-lut matati     ta - ai rat Ilu-ti sa tu-sat-gi-la
*dominion of the earth.*    *The return of her divinity she entrusted*

𒈨 𒀀 𒀭 𒈨 15. 𒈨𒅴 𒀭 𒀀 𒈾𒊑 𒈨 𒀭 𒈨𒊑 𒀭 𒈨 𒈨𒅴
pa -nu-u a     um -ma   Assur-bani-pal ul -tu ki rib
*to me,*     *thus :*    *" Assurbanipal, from the midst of*
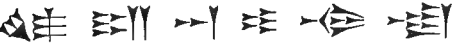
𒀀 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 (𒈨 𒊬 𒈾) 16. 𒈨𒅴 𒊭 𒈨 𒈨 𒊬 𒈨
Elam     (lim ni ti)      u -se-za an-ni va
*Elam*      *(wicked),*     *bring me out, and*
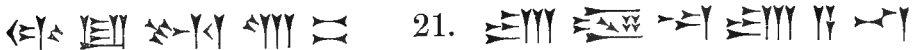
𒈨𒅴 𒊭 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒊬 𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨 17. 𒈨 𒊭
u -se- rab an ni ki rib Bit an na       a-mat
*cause me to enter into Bitanna."*     *The will*

𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨 𒀀 𒀭 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨
ki- bit Ilu-ti su-nu sa ul tu immi ruquti
*commanded by their divinity, which from days remote*

18. 𒈨 𒊭 𒀀 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨𒅴 𒈨𒅴 𒊭
ig - bu u e     nin - na    u    kal    li    mu
*they had uttered ;*    *again*     *they*    *spoke*    *to*

𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 19. 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒀭 𒈨 𒈨
nisi     arkati       qati Ilu ti sa rab ti
*later*    *people.*     *The hands of her great divinity*

𒈨 𒊭 𒈨𒅴 (𒈨) 20. 𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨
at - mu   uh   (va)     mur - ra an i sir - tu
*I took hold of, (and)*     *the*    *straight*    *road*

𒈨𒊑 𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨 21. 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨𒅴 𒈨 𒈨
ul - lu - us   lib - bi      ta - az ba ta a - na
*rejoicing in heart,*      *she*    *took*    *to*

𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 ⟩‑𒁹 ⟩‑𒁹    22.   ⟩‑ ⟩‑𒈠𒁹 𒐊 𒀀𒁹𒀀𒀸 ⟨𒂍 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋
Bit    an    na        ina arah Kiṣilivu   immi 1    ki‑rib
*Bitanna.*           *In the month Kislev, the first day, into*

𒐈𒌋𒌋𒌋 ⟨𒂍 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋𒂊 𒉽 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 ⟨𒁹‑ 𒂙   23.   ⟩‑ 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀀 ⟩𒈠𒐊𒁹 ⟩‑𒁹 ⟩‑𒁹
Aruk       u ‑se‑rib si va       ina Bit ‑ḫi‑ li ‑an‑na
*Erech I caused her to enter, and*     *in*        *Bithilianni*

𒐊𒁹 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒉽⟨𒈠𒐊𒁹 𒉽      24.   𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋𒂊 𒂑𒁁𒇲 𒁹‑ ⟨𒁹‑ 𒅍
sa    ta    ram ‑ mu             u ‑ sar ‑mi si parak
*which she had delighted in,*       *I set her up an enduring*

𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒂍𒌋𒌋 𒁹 𒉿𒆙   25.   𒂍𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒈠𒈠 ⟨𒁹𒈠𒇲 𒉺 𒉽 𒉽 ⟨𒀝𒁹 𒐊𒁹 ⟨𒂍
da ‑ ra ‑ a‑ ti          nisi     va     sal lat     Elam
*sanctuary.*         *People   and   spoil   of   Elam,*

26.   𒐊𒁹 𒁹 ⟨𒂍 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 ⟩‑𒁹𒀀 ⟩‑𒁹⟨⟨⟨ ⟩‑𒁹𒀀𒁹 ⟩‑𒁹𒀀𒁹𒌋 ⟩‑𒌋𒌋𒌋
sa ina ki ‑ bit Assur   Sin    Samas     Vul      Bel
*which by command of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,*

⟩𒈠𒆙   27.   ⟩‑𒁹 ⟨𒃽 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒐊𒇳𒁹 ⟨𒂍 ⟩‑𒁹 𒂑𒁁𒇲 ⟩𒁹‑ 𒂍𒌋𒌋 𒉿‑ ⟩𒁹⟨
Nabu        Istar     sa Ninua      Il   sar‑ rat Kit‑mu‑ ri
*Nebo,*       *Ishtar   of   Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

28.   ⟩‑𒁹 ⟨𒃽 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒐈 ⟩‑𒁹 ⟨𒂍     ⟩‑𒁹𒅅    ⟩‑𒁹⟨𒐊𒁹    ⟩‑𒁹𒌅𒂍
Istar     sa Arba‑ il        Ninip     Nergal     Nusku
*Ishtar   of   Arbela,*       *Ninip,   Nergal and Nusku,*

𒀀𒁹𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒉽‑ ⟩𒐊𒁹   29.   ⟩𒌋𒌋𒁹⟨ 𒉽 𒂍𒌋𒌋 ⟩𒉽⟨ 𒁹 ⟩‑𒁹 ⟩‑𒁹 𒁹𒈠𒈠 𒐊𒐊𒁹
ah ‑bu ‑ tu         ri ‑se‑ e ‑ti a ‑ na      Ili      ya
*I had carried away;*     *the   first   part   to   my   Gods*

𒌏 ⟩‑𒁹 [⟩𒆙?]   30.   𒐈𒅖 𒀀𒁹 𒁹𒈠𒈠 𒂙𒁹 ⟨𒐊 𒂙𒁹 𒁹 𒐊𒌋𒌋𒌋
as    ba ‑ [ak?]       zabi        mitpanu    iz ‑ a ‑lak
*I   devoted.*        *The     archers,    footmen(?),*

31.   𒐈𒅖 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒂙𒁹 𒁹 𒐈𒅖 𒐈𒅖 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋 ⟩𒐊𒁹   32.   𒐊𒁹
nis    um ‑ma‑ a     ni      kit ‑ kit   tu          sa
*soldiers      and     camp   followers(?)     whom*

𒀸 𒇻 𒆷  ul - tu  ki  rib  Elam
as - lu - la  ul - tu  ki  rib  Elam
*I   carried   off   from   the   midst   of   Elam;*

33.  e - li  ki  zir  ṣaru  ti  ya  u  rad - di
*over   the   body   of   my   kingdom   I   spread.*
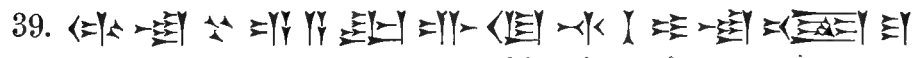
34.  ṣi - it - tu  ti  a - na  ma-ha- zi  su-bat  Ili  ya
*The   rest   to   the   cities   seats   of   my   Gods,*
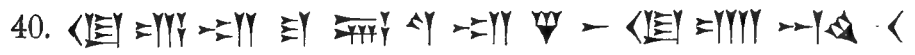
35.  sanuti  ya  nis  rabati  ya  gi  mir
*my   prefects,   my   great   men,   and   all*

karasi  ya  36.  ki -ma  ẓe - e  ni  u -za- hi -iz
*my camp,   like   sheep   I   caused   to   overflow.*

37.  Um -man- al -das  ṣar  Elam  38.  sa
*Ummanaldas   king   of   Elam,   who the*

su- us - mur  kakki  Assur va  Istar  dan-nu- ti  e -mu- ru
*vigour of the powerful soldiers of Assur and Ishtar had seen;*

39.  ul - tu  sad- e  a - sar  mar- ki  ti su i - tu  rav - va
*from the mountain, the place of his refuge, he returned and*

40.  ki - rib  Ma - dak - tu  alu  sa ina  ki - bit Assur  va
*into   Madaktu, the city which by command of Assur and*

Istar  41.  ab -bu- lu  aq  qu - ru  (v. qur)  as - lu  lu
*Ishtar   I had  pulled  down, destroyed  and  carried off*

(v. la)   sal - lat  ṣu              e   ru  ub   u - sib ina  ṣi  bit - ti
      *its      spoil ;*              *he   entered   and   sat   in   sorrow,*

a   sar   ki   ḫul   (le)   e        42.   su - par  Nabu - bel - zikri
  *in   a   place   dishonoured.*          *Concerning Nebobelzikri,*

ablu  abli  Maraduk - bal - iddina      44.   sa   ina   a   di   ya
*the grandson of Merodachbaladan ;*          *who against my agreement*

iḫ   ḍu - u  iz - lu - u      niri   belu - ti   ya        45.   sa
*had   sinned, and   thrown  off  the  yoke  of  my dominion :  who*

ṣarri          Elam     a   na  dan - nu - ti  su  is - ku - nu
*on   the   kings   of   Elam   to   strengthen   him   had   relied,*

46.  it - tak  lu  a - na   Um - man - i - gas  Tam - ma - ri - tu
      *had      trusted     to     Ummanigas,          Tammaritu,*

47.  In    da - bi - gas   Um - man - al - das      48.   ṣarri
      *Indabigas    and   Ummanaldas,*                      *kings*

sa   e - pu - su  bi - lut          Elam                 49.   a - mir  ya
*who had ruled the dominion of Elam.*                          *My   envoy*

su - par se - bul   Nabu - bel - zikri           50.   ina ma - le - e
*about the surrender of Nebobelzikri,*                  *with   determination*

lab   ba - a   ti   (v. te)   u - ma - hi - ir          51.   ẓir
    *of       purpose       I      sent*                      *to*

𒁹 ... 𒁹 ... 𒁹 ... ... ...
Um -man- al   das       Nabu - bel - zikri     ablu   abli
*Ummanaldas.*            *Nebobelzikri,*        *grandson  of*

𒁹 ... 52. ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
Maruduk - bal - iddina     a - lak       a - mir  ya  sa  ki  rib
*Merodachbaladan,*        *of  the  journey  of  my  envoy  who  into*

... 53. ... ... ...
Elam        e   ru   bu          is - me   e   va
*Elam      had   entered*        *heard,    and*

... (v. ...) ... ... ... ...
ik -ku (v. ki) - tu  lib - ba  su  ir - sa  a - na  suq - tu
*his   heart   was  afflicted. ·  He  inclined  to  despair,*

54. ... ...
na   pis   ta   su   pa - nu - us - su   ul   i   bis   va
*his   life   before   him   he   did   not   regard,   and*

55. ... (v. ...) ... ... ... 56. ...
ih - su - ḫa  me (v. mi) - tu   u   tu           a   na
*longed       for         death ;*              *to  his*

... 57. ...
ki - ze   e   ra - ma - ni  su   ig - bi va         um   ma
*own   armour-bearer   he   said   also*           *thus :*

... 58. ...
ra - si - ban - ni  ina   kakki       su - u       ki   zu
*"Slay  me  with  the  sword."*       *He  and  his  armour-bearer*
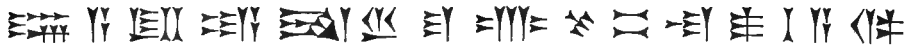
𒁹 ... (v. ...) ...
su ina   gir   parzil  sib - bi  su - nu  ub · ta  te (v. ti)  ḫu
*with   the   steel   swords   of  their  girdles  pierced ,through*
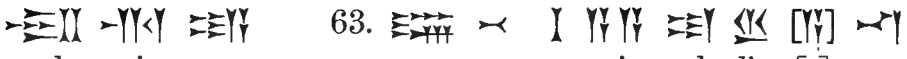
59. ... 60. ...
a - ḫa - mis   Um - man- al - das  ip  luḫ va          pagar
*each   other.   Ummanaldas   feared,   and   the   corpse   of*

Nabu - bel   zikri   su - a - tu   ḏabtu   us - ni - il   va
*that Nebobelzikri   [who]   benefits   trampled   on,*

61.   a   di   qaqadu   ki - zu   su   sa
*with   the   head   of   his   armour-bearer   who*

u   ra   (aṣ-)   ṣi   bu   su   ina   kakki     62.   a - na
*destroyed   him   with   the   sword,     to*

a - mir   ya   id -din   va   u -se-bi- la -as-su   a - di
*my   envoy   he   gave,   and   he   sent   it   to*

maḥ   ri   ya     63.   pagar su   ai   ad -din   [a] - na
*my presence.     His corpse may I not(?) give to*

ki - bi- ri     64.   eli   sa   maḥ - ri   mi   tu - uṣ   ṣu
*burial(?)     more   than   before   his   death*

ut   tir   va     65.   qaqad   ṣu   ʼak - kiṣ   ina   kikur
*I returned, and     his head I cut off; round the neck of*

Nabu -qati-ẓa-bat     66.   mun-ma-kir   Saul -mu- gi - na
*Neboqatizabat     the munmakir of   Saulmugina*

67.   aḥi   nak   ri   sa   it - ti   su   a - na   dak -ku   ri
*my rebellious brother, who with him to pass into*

68.   Elam   il   li   ku   a -lul     69.   Pa- he - e
*Elam   had   gone;   I   hung.     Pahe*

𒀭 𒐏 𒀭� 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 70. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
sa mi - iḫ - rit Um -man- al -das e - pu-su
*who against Ummanaldas, had ruled the*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 71. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
be- lut Elam na - mur - rat kakki
*dominion of Elam, the terror of the powerful*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 72. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
Assur va Istar iz - zu - ti sa edu su sanu su salsu su
*soldiers of Assur and Ishtar, who the first, second, and third time*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 73. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
id -bu-ku eli Elam iḫ - ṣu - uṣ
*had trampled over Elam covered him,*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 74. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
va ir -sa- a ḏi - ib lib bi ul -tu ki - rib
*and he trusted to the goodness of my heart, from the midst of*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 75. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
Elam in -nab- tu va iz -ba - ta niru
*Elam he fled and took the yoke of*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 76. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
ṣaru - ti ya nisi mul - taḫ - ḏi sa
*my kingdom. The people, sinners of*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 77. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 (𒐏) 𒐏
Bit - im - bi i Ku - zur - te (- ya) - in
*Bitimbi, Kuzurtein,*

𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 78. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
Dur ṣar Ma- ṣu - tu Bu - be- e
*Dursar, Masutu, Bube,*

79. 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏 𒐏
Bit - un -za- ai Bit - ar - ra - bi
*Bitunzai, Bitarrabi.*

80. Ip - rat     Za - gar    sa     Ta - pa - pa
*Iprat,*      *Zagar*     *of*     *Tapapa,*
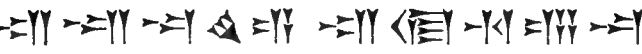
81. Ak - bar - i - na     Gur - u - ki - ir - ra
*Akbarina,*       *Gurukirra,*
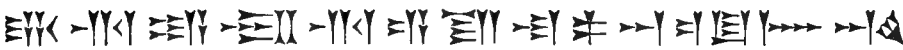
82. Du - un - nu - sa - mas     Ḫa - ma - nu
*Dunnushamas,*       *Hamanu,*
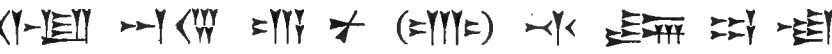
83. Ka - ni - ẓu     Ar - an - ze - e - se
*Kanizu,*       *Aranzese,*

84. Na - ki da - a - ti    Timin - ut   sa    Ṣi - ma - mi
*Nakidati,*     *Timinut*   *of*    *Simami,*

85. Bit - qa - ta - at - ti     Sa - ki - ṣa - ai
*Bitqatatti,*       *Sakisai,*

86. Zu - ba - ḫe - e    Tul - ḫu - un - ba    87. sa ina
*Zubahe,*    *and*    *Tulhunba,*      *who in*

gar - ri   ya   maḫ - re - e   sa   la   pa - an    kakki    Assur
*my former expedition, from the face of the powerful soldiers*

88. va   Istar   dan - nu   (u) - ti    in - nab - tu
*of Assur and Ishtar*         *fled and*

89. iz - ba - tu    (v. )    Ṣa - al - ad - ri sad - u mar - ẓu
*took*      *to*      *Saladri,*    *a rugged mountain;*

90. 𒀭𒈾 𒁹 𒐏 𒐊 𒐊 (v. 𒐊) 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
nisi sa -a- tu -nu sa ina Ṣa - al -ad - ri
*those* *people* *who* *on* *Saladri*

91. 𒐊 (v. 𒐊) 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹 𒐊
sad (v. sa -du) - u is -ku -nu a -na dan -nu- ti su -un
*the* *mountain* *fixed* *their* *stronghold,*

92. 𒐊 (v. 𒐊) 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
nam (v. ri?) - ri - ri Assur va Istar beli ya
*the* *terror* *of* *Assur* *and* *Ishtar* *my* *lords*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹 𒐊 𒐊   93. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹 𒐊
iṣ - ḫu - ub su -nu - ti        ul - tu sad- e a - sar
*overwhelmed* *them;*        *from the mountain the place*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   94. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
mar- ki - ti su- un in -nab-tu- niv -va        iẓ- ba- tu
*of* *their* *refuge* *they* *fled* *and*        *took*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹 𒐊 𒐊   95. 𒐊 𒐊
niri ya a -na mitpanu ak -ẓur su -nu- ti        e - li
*my* *yoke;* *to* *the* *bow* *I* *appointed* *them,*        *over*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 (𒐊) 𒐊 𒐊   96. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
ki - ẓir ṣaru (u) - ti ya        sa u -mal- lu u
*the* *body* *of* *my* *kingdom*        *which* *filled*

𒐊 (v. 𒐊) 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
qatu (v. qa - tu) - u a u - rad - di
*my* *hand* *I* *spread.*

EXTRACT FROM K, 1364.

*a.* 𒁹 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒁹
Tam-ma- ri -tu aḫi su qi -nu su ziri bit abi su
*Tammaritu, his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house,*

va rubi a [li kut idi su]    *b.* la pa-an
*and the princes going [before him];*    *from the face of*

In da-bi-gas ardu su in -nab-tu va iz-ba-ta niru
*Indabigas his servant fled, and took the yoke*

saru `[-ti ya] a - mir ya    *c.* su -par a-lak
*of [my] kingdom.*    *My envoy concerning the journey of*

Na - na - a ul tu ki rib Su - sa - an a - na
*Nana from the midst of Shushan to*

Aruk a [di Elam]    *d.* a - na
*Erech; to [Elam] to*

Um -man- al - da - ṣi ṣar Elam as-pur su va
*ˈUmmanaldas king of Elam I sent him, and*

ul * * * * *    *e.* sal - si -a-nu ina saplita Nabu
*he did not [grant it?].*    *A third time in obedience to Nebo,*
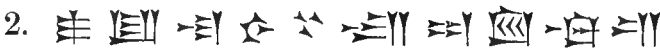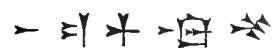
ablu ṣar Ili kap- ti sa lab-bu-u nam - ri - ri
*son of the king of the Gods, mighty, clothed with terror,*

a - na [Elam al - lik]    *f.* 14 alani dan-nu- ti
*to [Elam I went];*    *fourteen cities, strong,*
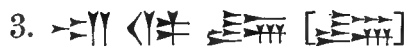
mu - sab ṣaru - ti su- un, &c.    See Cyl. A, col. VI, line 27.
*seats of their royalty, &c.*

## Epigraph over Warriors Destroying a City, and Carrying off Spoil.

1. 𒀀𒈠𒉡 𒀀𒇻 𒈗𒌓𒋾 𒊬 Elam
Ḫa-ma-nu  alu  ṣar -u- ti  sa  Elam
*Hamanu  the  royal  city  of  Elam,*

𒀠 -𒈪 𒀝𒋗𒁺   2. 𒀸 -𒇻 - 𒆷  𒊩𒆷𒀜  𒋗  𒀊  𒁊  𒀝 - 𒄥
al -mi aksud   as - lu - la  sal-lat  ṣu  ab  bul  aq - qur
*I besieged, I captured,  I carried off its spoil, I pulled down, destroyed,*

𒀸 𒄿 𒊓𒋾  𒀝 - 𒈬
ina  isati  ak - mu
*and in the fire I burned.*
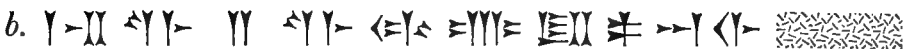
## Epigraph over King receiving Prisoners and Spoil.

1. 𒀀 - 𒈾 - 𒆬   Assur -bani-pal  sar  kissat  sar   Assur
A- na - ku   Assur -bani-pal  sar kissat sar   Assur
*I am Assurbanipal, king of nations, king of Assyria;*

2. 𒊩  𒀸  [𒆠  𒁉�featuring  Assur  va]  Belat  ik -su-du
sa  ina [ki  bit  Assur va]  Belat  ik -su-du
*who  by  the [will of  Assur  and]  Beltis,  has  taken*

𒇷 - 𒌝  𒈪 - 𒋥  �States  𒁉  𒋗   3. 𒀀𒇻 𒁷 - 𒅔 - [𒊬]
ẓu - um  mi - rat  lib  bi su   Di - in - [ṣar]
*the  desire  of  his  heart.*   *Dinsar,*

𒀀𒇻  𒊓  Elam   4. 𒀠 [𒈪] 𒀝 - [𒋗 - 𒌝]
alu  sa  Elam   al [mi]  ak - [su - ud]
*a  city  of  Elam,*   *I  besieged,  I  captured,*

𒈨 [𒆪] 𒊏   𒈨 𒍪 - 𒌝 - 𒁉   𒋛𒋛
ruqubi   ẓu - um - bi   susi
*war*   *chariots,*   *horses  and*

5. 𒁉𒌋 [𒁹𒌋𒁍] 𒆳 [𒌋𒊺𒍝]- av - va sal - la -tis
pare          [u  - se - ẓa]- av  - va  sal - la -tis
*mules,   I   brought   out   and   as   spoil   I*
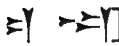
𒁺 [𒈾]
am -[nu]
*counted.*
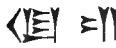
K, 3404, Variant Passage for Cylinder A, Column VII,
Lines 19 to 27.
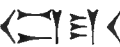
a. 𒁱𒌋 𒌉𒁹𒋾𒌋 𒋾𒌋 𒁱𒌋 𒋗𒊑 [𒁹𒆜𒁹𒋗𒌉𒌈]
Dur - un - da   ṣi   alu   ṣaru - [ti su ak - su - ud]
*Durundasi,    his   royal   city,   I   captured.*

b. 𒁹𒁉 𒅋𒁹 𒁹 𒅋𒁹 𒁲𒀸 𒌉𒋾 𒉺𒀭 𒋛 𒁹 𒁲
edin immi sanu immi  ul    u - qi pa - an - si    * * * *
*One day, two days, I did not move, the face    * * * *

c. 𒄿𒀭 𒁹 𒋗 va e - bir nahr 14 alani, &c.
ina immi su va  e - bir   nahr 14   alani,   &c.
*In those days, across the river, fourteen cities,   &c.*

K, 3062.
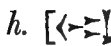
a. [𒍝𒇲𒌋 𒁹𒀭𒂆𒊑𒌋] 𒅈𒆪 [𒌋]
[Zalam     Tam-ma- ri - tu]   arku - [u]
*[A    statue   of    Tammaritu]   the    later,*

b. [𒁹 𒅇 𒁹𒌋] 𒀸𒋩 [𒌋] 𒅖𒁕     c. [𒌈𒇲]
[sa  ina   ki - bit]  Assur [va]  Istar         [ul - tu
*[who by command] of Assur [and] Ishtar,       [from the*

𒆠𒊑𒁍 𒋦 𒅆𒆷𒀫 𒉺𒁍𒁹 𒁹        d. [𒉌𒊑 𒅀
ki  rib]      Elam     in -nab - tu va       [niri  ya
*midst]  of   Elam    fled,    and        my   yoke*
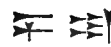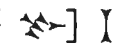
e.

iẓ - ba] - tu　e - pu - su ardu - u - ti　　[ul - tu

*took,　doing　homage　to　me;　[from the*

ki - rib]　Elam　al qa - a - a - na　Assur

*midst] of　Elam　I brought　to　Assyria.*

f. [zalam　Hal - lu ṣu　ṣar　Elam　an - nu - u

*[A statue] of　Halludus　king　of　Elam,　the one*

g. [sa a - na]　Assur　ig - bu - du　li　mut - tu

*[who against]　Assyria　had　devised　evil,*
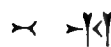
h. [eli]　Sin　aḫi　irba ṣar　Assur　abu abi

*[against]　Sennacherib　king of Assyria, the grandfather*

bani ya　　i. [e - bu] - su ẓi lu u　　j. pu su sa

*my begetter,　he had made war.　His mouth, which*

is - ni - iẓ - ẓu　ak kiṣ　　k. ṣapti　su sa

*　*　*　*　, I cut off;　his lips, which*

ig - ba - a mi - ri - iḫ - tu ap - ru　uh　　l. qati su

*spoke　defiance,　I　tore　out;　his hands*

u - kar - ri - it　sa mitpanu iẓ - ba - tu　　m. a - na

*I cut off, which the bow had held　to*

mit - ḫu - ẓi　Assur　　n. a na da la li

*fight　Assyria.　For the exalting of*

ta - us - ti　Assur　va　Istar　　　　　　　*o.*　Ili
*the　will　of　Assur　and　Ishtar,*　　　　　　　*the Gods*
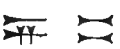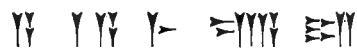
ti　ik - li　ya　　　　*p.*　ina babi　✱ ✱ ✱ ✱　va di - nu
*my　protectors,*　　　　*in the gate　✱ ✱ ✱ ✱　✱ ✱ ✱*

✱ ✱ ✱ ✱　　　　*q.*　sa　ki　[rib] ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱
✱ ✱ ✱ ✱　　　　　　　*which　is　in　[Nineveh?].*

EXTRACT FROM DISPATCH OF OFFICER TO KING.　K, 10.

*a.*　De - e - mu　sa　Elam　ig - ta - bu
　　*News　　　of　　Elam　　they　told*
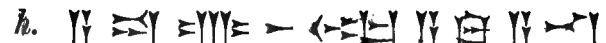
*b.*　um - ma　Um - man - ni　gas ablu　A - mi　dir - ra
　　*thus :　　" Ummannigas　son　of　Amidirra*
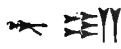
*c.*　si - hu　a　na　eli　Um - ma - hal - da　a - su
　　*a　　revolt　against　　Ummanaldas*

*d.*　i - te - pu - us　ul - tu　Hu - ut - hu - ut　　*e.*　a - di
　　*has made.　From the　　Huthut　　　　　to*

Ha - ai　da - nu　it - ti su　　*f.*　it - ta - si　iz - zu
*Haidanu　　with　him　　　he raised, strongly.*

Um - ma - hal - da - a - su　　*g.*　e - mu - ki su　ki - i
*Ummanaldas　　　　　　　his　forces　then*

𒀀 𒁲 𒄯     *h.* 𒅇 𒂊 𒀀 — 𒅁 𒅇 𒇽 𒅇 𒀀

u - pah - hir     a - du - u  ina  eli  nahr  a - na

*gathered.*     *Now across the river in*

𒄿 𒁲     *i.* 𒅇 𒌋 𒈨 — 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒅇 𒁁 𒈨 𒅇

tar - zi     a - ha - mis  na - du - u  Ba - sa - za

*front*     *of each other they are placed." Basaza*

*j.* 𒁁 𒅇 𒀀 𒀀 𒁲 𒉺 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒅁 𒅇 𒅇 𒅇

sa  a - na  e - kal  as - pu - ra  de - en  su - nu

*whom to the palace I send, their news*

*k.* 𒌋 𒁁 𒀀 — 𒀀 𒁲 𒅇 𒅇 𒀀 𒁁 𒅇

ha - ri - iṣ ina  e - kal lis - ha - al su

*testifies; in the palace may he inquire of him.*
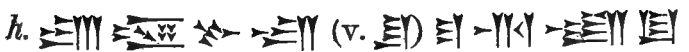
K, 2664 AND K, 3101. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VI,
LINE 43, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 19.
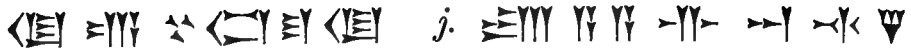
*a.* 𒁹 𒈨 𒁁 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀    *b.* 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀

60 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru     ki - rib    Elam

*Sixty kaspu of ground*     *within*    *Elam*

*c.* 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲    *d.* 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀

u - sah - rib     dab - u ebiltu  hasasu

*I laid waste,*     *destruction, servitude and drought*

*e.* 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲    *f.* 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒅇

u - sap - pi - ha  ẓir - us - su - un     Na - na - a

*I poured over them,*     *Nana*

*g.* 𒁲 𒅇 𒁲 𒅇 𒁲 𒅇     𒀀 𒅇 𒀀 𒀀 𒁲

sa     1,535     sanat  an - na - i

*who*    1,535     *years*

*h.* 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 (v. 𒅇) 𒁲 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀    *i.* 𒀀 𒁲 𒀀
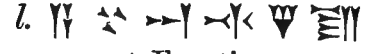
ta - aṣ - bu  ṣu (v. su) va tal - li - ku    tu - si - bu

*had been desecrated, had gone,*    *and dwelt*

ki - rib          Elam          *j.*          ta - ai - rat  Ilu - ti  sa
*in*              *Elam.*                     *The   return  of   her  divinity*
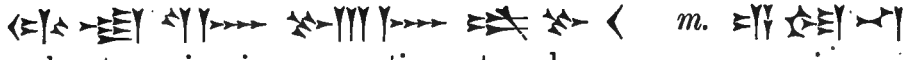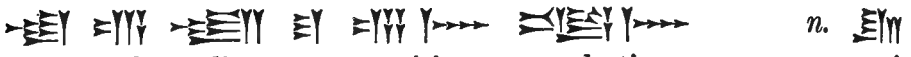
*k.*  tu -sat- gi - la  pa-nu-u  a          *l.*  a -mat Ilu- ti  sa  sa
      *she    entrusted  to    me.*               *The will of her divinity, which*

ul - tu   immi    ruquti    tag - bu -u          *m.*  e - nin - na
*from   days   remote   she   had   uttered;*          *again*
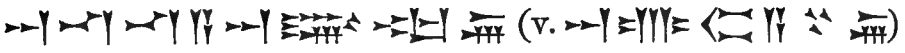
tu - kal - li  -ma    nisi    arkuti              *n.*  qati
*she      spoke    to    later     people.*             *The hands of*
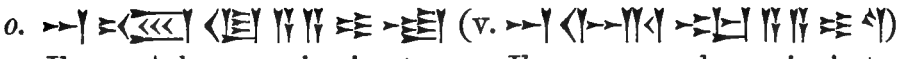
Na - na - a     Uzur - amat  sa     (v.  U  - zur -a -mat- sa)
*Nana,*          *Uzuramatsa*

*o.*  Ilu  Arka  - ai - i - tu    Ilu   ar  - ka - ai - i -tu
      *the   Erechite   God,*

at - mu -  uh   va, &c.
*I  took  hold  of,  and, &c.*
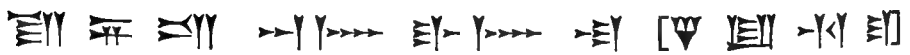

EXTRACT FROM K, 2631.

12.  Ku- dur- na -an- hu - un - di          E - la -mu-  u
     *Kudurnanhundi*            *the*          *Elamite*

sa   ni - is    Ili    rabati    la   [ip - lu - hu va]
*who   the   worship   of   the   great   Gods   did   not   [fear],*

13. 𒌋 𒀸 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
sa ina sa-ne - e     ḍe - e -mi a - na     e -muq ra -ma - ni
*who     in     an     evil     resolve     to     his     own     force*

𒐊 [𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊]     14. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
su  [it - ta - ki - lu]                    a - na   es - re - e - ti
      *[trusted]*                              *on     the     temples     of*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
Akkad   qat   ṣu   id - du - u   va   u -sal -pi - tu
*Akkad     his hands     he had laid,     and     he     oppressed*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊     15. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
Akkad      * * * *               immi     im - lu - u
*Akkad     [Nana he carried off(?)],     the     days     were full,*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
uk - ki - pa - a  dan - nu     Ili     rabati   ip -se - te - e
*extinguished(?)     was power, and the great Gods     [these]     things*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊     16. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
* * * * *             a - na 2 nir 7 sus 15 sanat an - na - i
*[saw].*             *For two ner seven sos and fifteen years*
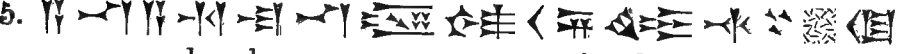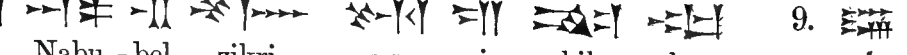
𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊     17. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
sapliti(?)     E - la - mi * * * * *            ya - a - ti
*under the Elamites [she remained.   The great Gods]     of me*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
Assur -bani-pal   rubu   pa -laḫ su - un  a - na  ṣa -pa - aḫ
*Assurbanipal     the prince     their worshipper,     to overwhelm*

𒐊 𒐊     18. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
* * *             u -ma- hi - ir -u   in - ni va kakki
*[Elam]*             *they     sent     me,     and     soldiers*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
la  pa  * * * * *
*not     * * * * **

K, 359. LETTER FROM UMMANALDAS TO ASSURBANIPAL.

1. [cuneiform]

Sar    Um -man- al    da - ṣi    ṣar         Elam
*From*        *Ummanaldas*         *king*    *of*    *Elam*

2. [cuneiform]

a- na    Assur -bani-pal    ṣar         Assur    lu -u salim-mu
*to*        *Assurbanipal*    *king*    *of*    *Assyria.*         *Peace*

3. [cuneiform]

a- na    aḥi    ya    ultu    ris    nis    Mar- te- na - ai
*to*    *my*    *brother,*    *from*    *the*    *first*    *the*         *Marteni*

4. [cuneiform]

iḥ - ti - id - du    u - nik - ka    Nabu -bel- zikri
*had*    *sinned*    *and*    *fought*(?)    *Nebobelzikri,*

5. [cuneiform]

a- na    a- ḥu- la    na - aẓ    ẓu -u- ni    bir - ti  * * *
*to get away, they were flying*(?)  *by    the    border*  * * *

6. [cuneiform]

bir - ti         Elam    uṣ - ṣa -an- ḥi - i  * * *
*the    border    of    Elam*  * * * * *  * * *

7. [cuneiform]

id - da    a - ti    at - ta    tas - sap - ra    va - a
*forces*    *do*    *thou*    *send,*    *for*

[cuneiform]    8. [cuneiform]

Nabu - bel - zikri         se - bi - la    aẓ - ẓa bat
*Nebobelzikri*         *to    surrender    I    took.*

[cuneiform]    [cuneiform]    9. [cuneiform]

Nabu -bel- zikri    uṣ - ṣi - bil    ka         nis
*Nebobelzikri*    *I    will    surrender    to    thee.*         *The*

Mar - te - na - ai    sa    ultu    ris    Nabu - bel - zikri
*Marteni    who    from    the    first    Nebobelzikri*
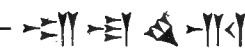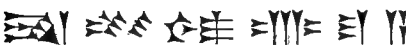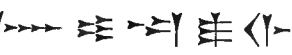
10.    a - na    Elam    na - az - zu
      *to    Elam    in    flight*
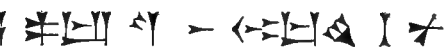
u - zu - ni * * * ni    11.    nisi    ya    i - ba - as - si
*fled * * * *    my    people    being*
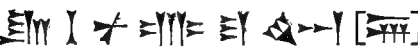
sa ina    eli    me * * * * ni    12.    ina lib    uzni
*over against the water * * * *    into  the  interior of*

su-nu  e -tar- bu * sal(?) id(?)- ri(?) su(?)    13.    ina    La - hi - ri
*their  ears  entered  the same  * * * *    in    Lahiri*

it - tah - zu - u    va-a    14.    nisi ·    i    ba - as- si
*they    urged.    Now    the  people  being*

adi    ta - hu -mi su-nu    15.    a - sap -par ina    eli    su-nu
*in their neighbourhood    I    sent    against    them*

ardi    ya    16.    sa    ih - du - u - nin - ni ina
*my  servants,    who    sinned    against    me    in*

qati su-nu  u -ma- hi - [ir]    17.    sum-ma ina mati ya su-nu
*their    hands    I    placed;    when  in  my  country  they*

ana-ku ina qati su-nu    u  * * * *    18.    va    sum -ma
*were I in their hands * *  * * * *    and  when  the*

nahr   e -tab- ru   at - ta - ri   *   *   *   *     19.   ina lib - bi
*river*   *they*   *crossed,*   *I*   *   *   *   *     *in the midst*

su-nu   ri - i - ba   va   ki -ma   *   *   *   *     20.   ip - sat
*of*   *them*   *strife*   *and*   *   *   *   *   *   *     *the work*

ardi   sa   ina   eli   *   *   *   *
*of the servants who against*   *   *   *   *

DATE ON REVERSE.

araḫ   immi   26   lim - mu   Nabu-sar- ahi -[su]
*Month*   *26th*   *day*   *eponym*   *Nebosarahisu*

The cause of the second war with Ummanaldas was probably the refusal of the ʿElamite king to deliver up the image of the Goddess Nana, which we are told (K, 1364) Assurbanipal sent to demand. This image, according to the various accounts, had been carried off by Kudur-nanhundi, an early Elamite monarch, and had remained either 1635 or 1535 years in the hands of the Elamites; and therefore the date of Kudurnanḫundi must have been about B.C. 2280 or 2180. In this campaign, Assurbanipal completely conquered Elam, and destroyed the city of Shushan. It is very doubtful if the affair of Nebobelzikri, Cylinder A, col. vii, line 43, belongs in any sense to this division of the annals; for the other inscriptions mention the embassy to Elam to demand his surrender as being at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas. The letter of Ummanaldas on the subject is included in this division in illustration of Cylinder A.

The Ummanigas son of Amidirra is, I believe, the same as the Ummanigas son of Umbadara; but his revolt probably took place at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas.

The king Halludus, whose statue was carried away and muti-
lated, must have reigned during the last years of Sennacherib; the
form Halluṣi is another example of רש or תש becoming ס; the name
is sometimes written in the Susian Inscriptions 𒀭 ⊳ 𒌷 𒋛 𒍑
Ḥal-lu-du-us.

# PART XII.

## *The Arabian War.*

### TEXTS.

The texts of the Arabian War are Cylinder A, col. vii, line 97, to col. ix, line 112; Cylinder B, col. vii, line 87, to col. viii, line 57; K, 2802; K, 3096; and K, 562.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN VII, LINE 97, TO COLUMN IX, LINE 112.

97. [cuneiform]
I - na   9    gar - ri   ya   ad - ki   umman   ya
*In   my   ninth   expedition   I   gathered   my   army,*

98. [cuneiform]
zir     U - ai - te - eh   ṣar    A - ri - bi
*against    Vaiteh    king   of    Arabia*

99. [cuneiform]
us - te - es - se - ra    mur - ra - nu   sa   ina a - di - ya
*I   directed   the   march,   who   against   my   agreement*

100. [cuneiform]
iḫ - du - u ḏabtu   e - pu - su - us   la   iẓ - ẓur - u   va
*had   sinned;   the   benefits   done   to   him   he   did   not   regard,   and*

101. [cuneiform]     102. [cuneiform]
iz - la - a    niru    bel - (u) - ti   ya      sa
*threw   off   the   yoke   of   my   dominion.*     *When*

Assur   e - mi - du - us   (v. su)   i   su - ḍu   ab - sa - (a) - ni
*Assur   had   set   him   up   to   perform   my   pleasure,*

103.   a - na   sa - ha - al   sul - mi   (v. me)   ya   sepu su
*to   seek   my   alliance   his   feet*

ip - ru - uṣ   va     104.   ik - la - a   ta - mar - ti
*broke   off,   and     he   ended   his*

man - da - at   tā   su   ka - bit - tu   (v. tu)     105.   ki - i
*presents   and   great   tribute.     When*

Elam     da - bab ṣur - ra - a - ti     Akkad
*Elam     was speaking sedition with   Akkad,*

is - mi va     106.   la iẓ - ẓu - ra   a - di - ya
*he heard and     disregarded   my   agreement.*

ya - a - ti   Assur-bani-pal     107.   ṣar   sangu ellu   re - e - su
*Of   me   Assurbanipal,     the king, the noble priest, the*

mud   nin - nu - u     108.   bi - nu - tu qati Assur   u - vas - sir
*powerful leader,     the work of the hands of Assur,   he left*

an - ni va     109.   a - na   A - bi - ya - te - eh   Ai - mu abli
*me, and     to   Abiyateh   and   Aimu, sons of*

Te - ha ri     110.   e - mu - ki   it - ti su - nu - ti a - na
*Tehari,     his   forces   with   them   to*

ri - ẓu - ti        111. Saul - mu - gi - na
*the help of*          *Saulmugina*

aḫi nak - ri is - pur va     112. is - ta - kan pi - i su
*my rebellious brother he sent, and*    *set his face.*

nisi    A- ri - bi      113. it - ti su u - sam - kir
*The people of Arabia*      *with him he caused to revolt,*

va iḫ - ta - nab- ba - ta     114. ḫu bu - ut nisi
*and carried away the*       *plunder of the people*

sa Assur Istar va Ili rabati    115. id - din- u ni
*whom Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods*    *had given me,*

riu - ṣi - na e - pi - su     116. va u - mal - lu - u
*their government I had ruled,*      *and they were in*

qa - tu - u a     117. ina ki - bit Assur va Istar
*my hand.*      *By command of Assur and Ishtar*

umman ya ina gi - ra - a     118. A- za- ar - an
*my army in the region of*      *Azaran,*

Ḫi- ra - ta - a - qa- za- ai     119. ina U - du - mi ina
*Hirataqaza,*        *in Edom, in the*

ni - rib    Ya - ab - ru - du     120. ina Bit - am - ma - ni
*neighbourhood of Yabrud,*      *in Beth Ammon,*

〔cuneiform〕 121. 〔cuneiform〕

ina na - ge - e sa    Ḫa- u - ri - na    ina
*in the district of the*    *Hauran,*    *in*

〔cuneiform〕

Mu- ha - a - ba ina    Ṣa- ha - ar - ri
*Moab,*    *in*    *Saharri,*

122. 〔cuneiform〕

ina    Ḫa- ar - ge - e ina na - ge - e sa
*in*    *Harge,*    *in the district of*

〔cuneiform〕

Ẓu - bi - te
*Zobah.*

## Column VIII.

1. 〔cuneiform〕

di - ik - ta su ma- ha - at - tu a-duk ina la mi- ni
*His numerous fighting men I slew without number,*

2. 〔cuneiform〕

as- kun    abikta su nisi    A- ri - bi ma- la it - ti
*I accomplished his overthrow. The people of Arabia, all who with*

3. 〔cuneiform〕

su it bu -u- ni    u - ra - (aṣ -) ṣib ina kakki
*him came,*    *I destroyed with the sword;*

4. 〔cuneiform〕

va su - u la pa -an    kakki Assur dan-nu- ti
*and he from the face of the*    *powerful soldiers of Assur,*

5. 〔cuneiform〕

ip -par- sid va in - na - bit    a - na ru - ke - e - ti
*fled and got away*    *to a distance.*

𒂍𒀀 𒍣𒅔 𒍣𒅕𒋫𒊏𒋾    6. 𒈬𒊓𒁉 𒋢𒉡

bit - ẓin  zir - ta - ra - ti        mu - sa - bi  su - nu

*The    tents,   the   pavilions,*        *their    dwellings,*

𒅗𒈬  𒌋 𒊓𒄭𒄑𒍪  𒅅𒈬 𒀸 𒄿𒊓𒋾

kamu    u - sa - ḫi - iz - zu    ik - mu  ina    isati

*a   fire  they  raised,  and  burned  in   the   flames.*

7. 𒀀𒌋𒀀𒋼𒄴 𒈠𒊒𒍙𒌓 𒅎𒄯 𒋢 �송

U - ai - te - eh  ma - ru - us - tu   im - har  su va

*Vaiteh,        misfortune  happened  to  him,  and*

8. 𒂊𒁲𒋛 𒋢 𒅔 𒈾 𒁉 𒀀 𒈾  𒈾𒁀𒀀𒋾

e - dis - si  su  in - na - bit  a - na   Na - ba - ai - ti

*alone      he    fled      to     Nabatea.*

9. 𒀀𒌋𒀀𒋼𒄴 𒀊𒇻  𒄩𒍝 𒅋  𒀀𒄷  𒀊

U - ai - te - eh  ablu  Ḥa - za  il   ahu   abi

*Vaiteh        son  of  Hazail,  brother of the father*

10. 𒊓  𒀀𒌋𒀀𒋼𒄴 𒀊𒇻  𒁉𒅕 �vul  [𒊓

sa    U - ai - te - eh  ablu  Bir - vul  [sa

*of       Vaiteh      son  of  Birvul,    who*

𒊏]𒈧 𒋢    11. 𒅖𒆪𒉡 𒀀𒈾 𒊓𒊒𒋾  𒀀𒊑𒁉

ra] - man su    is - ku - nu  a - na  ṣaru - ti   A - ri - bi

*himself           appointed  to  the  kingdom  of  Arabia;*

12. Assur  ṣar  [Ili]  sad - u  rabu - u    de  [e - mu]

*Assur  king  of  the  Gods  the  strong  and  mighty,  a decree*

13. u - sa - an - ni  va   [il - li] - ka  a - di

*repeated,    and    he    came    to*

mah - ri  ya    14. a - na  kul - lu  ta - us - ti  Assur

*my  presence.*    *To   satisfy   the   law   of   Assur*

15. [va] Ili rabati beli - ya de -nu kap- tu
*and the great Gods my lords, a heavy judgment*

16. iẓ-bat ṣu va si - ga - ru as- kun ṣu va
*took him, and in chains I placed him, and*

17. it - ti a - ṣi kalbi ar - ku - bu -su ṣu va
*with asi and dogs I bound him, and*

18. u -sa- an - ẓir su babi rabi qabal Ninua
*caused him to be kept in the great gate in the midst of Nineveh*

19. Ni- rib bar- nak - ti ad na -a- ti va su u
*Nirib-barnakti-adnati And he*
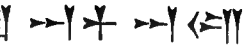
20. Am -mu- la di ṣar Ki - id - ri it - tu - bil
*Ammuladi king of Kedar, brought*
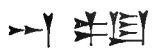
a - na mit-ḫu - (uẓ) - ẓi ṣarri Ḫatti
*to fight the kings of Syria,*
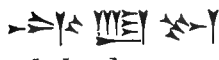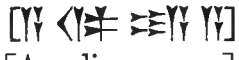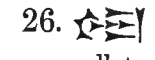
21. sa Assur va Istar Ili rabati u -sat- gi lu
*whom Assur and Ishtar the great Gods had entrusted*
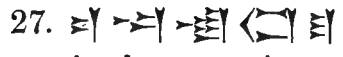
22. pa -nu-u a ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul
*to me. In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,*

23. Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il ṣar - rat
*Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of*
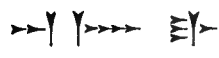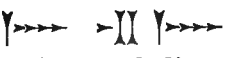
𒆩𒈬𒊑     24.   𒀭 𒈹 𒊭 𒅈 𒅋 �netinip 𒉊

Kit-mu- ri     Istar   sa Arba-   il   Ninip   Nergal

*Kitmuri,*     *Ishtar*   *of*   *Arbela,*   *Ninip,*   *Nergal*

𒉡�establ    25.   𒌍 𒁉 𒁕 𒋢 𒊍 𒆸 𒊭 𒀀 𒋢
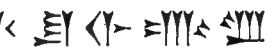
Nusku         abikta   su   as -   kun    sa - a - su

*and Nusku,*     *his overthrow I accomplished.*    *Himself*

bal - du - uṣ - ṣu    it - ti   [A di - ya - a]    26.   allat
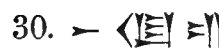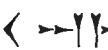
*alive*        *with*     *[Adiya]*     *the wife of*

U - ai - te - eh   ṣar   A- ri - bi    27.   iẓ - ba - tu - niv - va

*Vaiteh*     *king of*   *Arabia,*     *they captured and*

u - bil - u- ni a - di   maḥ - ri   ya    28.   ina ki - bit
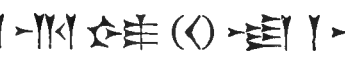
*brought*    *to*    *my*    *presence.*     *By command*

Ili     rabati     beli     ya    ul - li     kalbi

*of*   *the*   *great*   *Gods*   *my*   *lords,*   *with*   *the*   *dogs*

29.   as- kun   su va   u - sa - an- ẓir   su si - ga - ru

*I placed him, and I caused him to be kept chained.*

30.   ina ki - bit Assur Istar va   Ili   rabati   beli   ya

*By command of Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,*

31.   sa   A-bi- ya- te- eh    Ai -mu abli Te- he - ri

*of*     *Abiyateh*    *and*    *Aimu sons of*   *Tehari,*

32.   sa   a - na   ri - ẓu -(u)- tu    Saul -mu- gi - na

*who*   *to*   *the*   *help*   *of*     *Saulmugina*
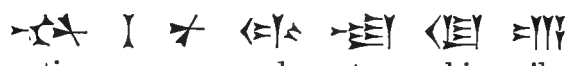
𒀸𒉿𒊑 ahi nak - ri
*my rebellious brother*

33. a - na e - rib Bab - ili
*to enter Babylon*
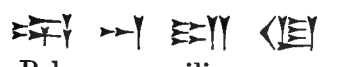
il - li -ku
*went;*

34. ri - ze - e su a-duk abikta su
*his helpers I slew, his overthrow*
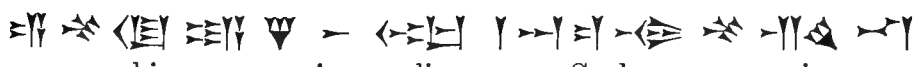
as - kun și - it tu - ti
*I accomplished. The remainder*

35. sa -ki - rib
*who into*
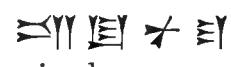
Bab - ili e ru bu ina șu - un - ki
*Babylon entered, in want and*
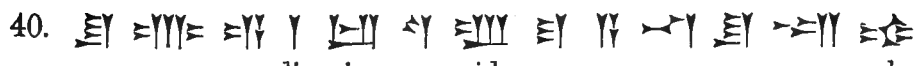
36. hu suh -hi e-ku lu șeri a-ha- mis
*hunger eat the flesh of each other.*

37. a - na
*To*
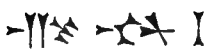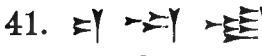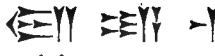
su - zu - ub napis- ti su - nu ul - tu ki - rib
*save their lives, from the midst of*
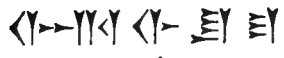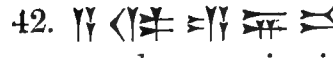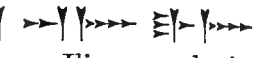
Bab - ili
*Babylon*

38. u zu niv va
*they came out, and*
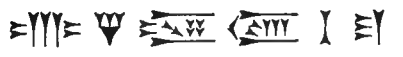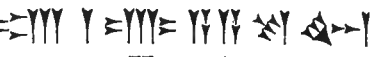
e -mu- ki ya sa ina eli Saul -mu- gi - na
*my forces which around Saulmugina*
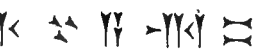
39. sak -nu sa -ni - (ya) - a -nu abikta su is -ku -nu va
*were placed, a second time his overthrow accomplished; and*
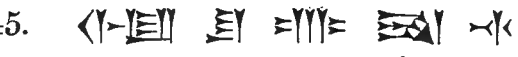
40. su - u e -dis ip -par- sid va a - na su - zu - ub
*he alone fled, and to save*
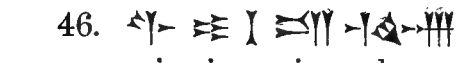
napis- ti su  41. iẓ- ba- tu niri ya re- e- mu
*his* *life* *took* *my* *yoke.* *Favour*
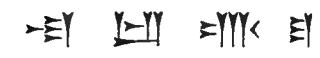
ar - si su va  42. a- de- e ni- is Ili rabati
*I granted him and* *an agreement to worship the great Gods*

u -sa- az - kir su va  43. ku - um U - ai- te- eh
*I caused him to swear, and* *instead* *of* *Vaiteh*
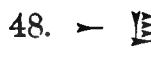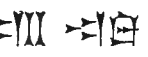
ina * *  44. a- na ṣaru - (u) - ti A - ri- bi
*or anyone,* *to* *the* *kingdom* *of* *Arabia*
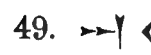
as - kun va  45. va su- u it - ti
*I* *appointed.* *And* *he* *with* *the*

Na - ba - ai - ta - ai  46. pi - i su is - kun
*Nabateans* *his* *face* *set,*

va ni - is Ili rabati la ip - luh va
*and* *the* *worship* *of* *the* *great* *Gods* *did* *not* *fear, and*

47. iḫ - ta -nab- ba - ta ḫu - bu - ut mi ṣir mati ya
*carried away the plunder of the border of my country.*

48. ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
*In the service of Assur,* *Sin,* *Shamas,* *Vul,* *Bel,* *Nebo,*

49. Istar sa Ninua Il sar - rat Kit - mu - ri
*Ishtar* *of* *Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

50. 𒀭𒌋 𒀸𒋫 𒀸 𒀭𒉌 𒀭𒌓 𒀭𒉡 𒀭𒉡𒋢
Istar       sa Arba - il         Ninip   Nergal   Nusku
*Ishtar   of   Arbela,         Ninip,   Nergal and Nusku,*

51. 𒀭𒈾𒀜 𒋦 𒈾𒁀 𒀀𒋫 𒀀𒊩 𒀸 𒀀𒊬 𒋢
Na - ad -nu   şar       Na - ba - ai - ti   sa   a - sar   su
*Nathan   king of       Nabatea,   whose   place   was*

𒊒𒌋𒄣   52. 𒊭 𒌋 𒀀𒄿𒋼 𒄲 𒀀𒈾
ru - u - qu       sa   U - ai - te - eh   a - na
*remote,   of whom,   Vaiteh   to*

𒈣𒊑 𒋢 𒅔𒈾𒁕𒌅 (v. 𒋫)   53. 𒄿𒈨𒂊 �021va
mah - ri   su   in -nab-tu   (v. ta)       is - me- e   va
*his   presence   (had)   fled;       heard   also*

𒈾𒀭 𒀭 𒀸𒋩 𒊭 𒌋 𒋳 𒄀𒈝 𒀭 (v. 𒀀) 𒉌
da - na - an   Assur   sa   u - tag -gil   an   (v. a)   ni
*of the power of Assur   who   protected   me :*

54. 𒊭 𒈠𒋼 (v. 𒋾) - e   ma a - na   şarri   abi   ya
*who   in   time   past   to   the   kings   my fathers,*

55. 𒀀 - mir   su   la   is - pu - ra   la   is - (ha) - a - lu
*his   envoy   did   not   send,   and   did   not   seek*

(v. 𒇻)   56. 𒋢 𒈝 𒊬𒌋 𒋾   su - un   ina   pu - luh - ti
(v. lū)       su - lum   şaru - ti   su- un   ina   pu- luh - ti
*alliance   with   their   kingdom;   in   fear   of the*

𒆠 𒀭 (𒀸) 𒀸𒋩   57. 𒆠 - si - du - ti   𒁕𒁕𒁕𒁕
kakki   Assur       ka - si - du - ti   * * * *
*soldiers   of   Assur       capturing   * * * ***

𒁀 - qa - av - va   is - ha - a - la   58. su - lum   şaru - ti   ya
*he   tore   and   sought   alliance       with   my   kingdom.*

A - bi - ya - te - eh     59.     ablu    Te- he- (e) - ri   la
*Abiyateh*            *son of*     *Teheri*   *did not*

* * * * dabtu la   na   zir    60.    ma-mit   Ili    rabati
* * * *benefits, disregarding the*     *oath of the great Gods,*

da -bab sur- ra -a- ti   it - ti   ya    61.    id - bu- ub va
*seditious*    *words*    *against*    *me*       *he spoke, and*

pi - i su   it - ti   Na -ad -ni    62.    sar    Na - ba- ai   ti
*his*   *face*   *with*    *Nathan*      *king of*    *Nabatea*

is - kun    va    e -mu- ki su-nu    63.    id -ku-u-ni
*he*    *set;*    *and*    *their*    *forces*       *they gathered*

a - na    ti - ib    limut    a - na    me - sir    ya
*to*    *commit*   *evil*    *against*     *my*     *border.*

64.    ina   ki   bit   Assur    Sin   Samas    Vul     Bel    Nabu
*By command of Assur,*    *Sin, Shamas,*    *Vul,*    *Bel,*    *Nebo,*

65.    Istar    sa    Ninua    Il    sar - rat   Kit -mu-- ri
*Ishtar*    *of*    *Nineveh*    *the*    *divine*    *queen of*   *Kitmuri,*

66.    Istar    sa Arba- il     Ninip   Nergal    Nusku
*Ishtar*    *of*    *Arbela,*     *Ninip,*    *Nergal and Nusku,*

67.    umman    ya    ad - ki    zir    A - bi - ya- te - eh
*my*    *army*    *I*   *gathered;*   *against*     *Abiyateh*

68. 𒀀𒁲𒌋𒌋𒌋𒐖𒂊𒅎𒂊𒅎𒀀𒐖𒁹𒆷𒀀𒁉𒇲

us - te - es - se - ra     mur - ra - nu        Idikkal

*I*    *directed*     *the*     *march.*        *The Tigris*

69. (va)        Purat    ina meli   si - na (gab - si)
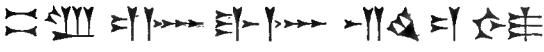
(va)        Purat    ina meli   si - na (gab - si)

*and*     *the*     *Euphrates*   *in*    *their*   *flood*    *(strong)*

sal - mis (v. sal - mi - is)   lu - u   e - bi - ru       70. ir - du    u

*peacefully*       *they*      *crossed,*        *they marched,*

ur - ḫi   ru - qu - u - ti    e - be - lu    e - te - [lu]

*a*    *distant*    *path*    *they*    *took,*    *they*    *ascended*
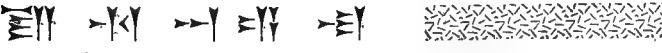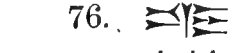
71. ḫar - sa - a - ni   sa - qu - ti     iḫ - tal - lu   bu

*the*     *lofty*    *country,*    *they*    *passed*    *through*

kisti        72. sa    ẓu - lul   si - na   rap - su

*the forests,*       *of which*   *their*   *shadow*   *was*   *vast,*
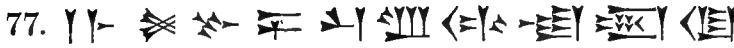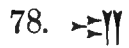
bi - rit    iẓi    rabati    gi - iẓ - ẓu      73. * * * * *

*bounded by trees great and strong,*      *and*   *vines*(?) *a*

mur - ra - an iz - id - de - e - tu      74. e - te - it - ti   qu

*road*   *of*   *mighty*   *wood.*      *They*    *went*

ana nakiri    Vas a - sar   ẓu - um - mi      75. dan - dan - ti

*to the rebels of Vas, a place arid and*       *very difficult,*

sa   iẓẓur    same    la     * * * * * *      76. imiri

*where the bird of heaven had not* * * * * * *      *wild*

𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱 𒑱
    ẓini               la   [u - ba] - hu - u ina lib - bi
    *asses*           *they    found    not    in   it.*

77.    100 kas-pu qaq-qa-ru ul-tu Ninua    78.  alu
        100 *kaspu of ground, from Nineveh*       *the city*

na - ram      Is tar hi - rat   Bel      79.  ẓir
*the delight of Ishtar, wife of Bel;*      *against*

(v. arku)    U - ai - te - eh  ṣar    A - ri  bi
*(v. after)*     *Vaiteh    king of  Arabia*

80.  va   A - bi - ya - te - eh  it - ti  e - mu - ki
     *and    Abiyateh    with    the forces*

81. (v. )  Na - ba - ai ta - ai  il - li - ka
 *of   the    Nabateans,    they   went.*
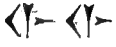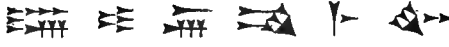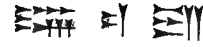
(v. ku)  82.  ir - du u  il - li - ku ina arah Ṣivanu
          *They marched and went in the month Sivan,*
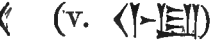
arah Sin   83.  ablu ris - te - e a - sa - ri - du  sa
*the month of Sin    the eldest son and first of*

Bel    84.  immi 25  sa da - hu sa  be lat
*Bel,   the twenty-seventh day, on the festival of the lady of*
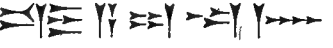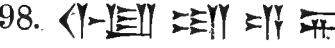
Bab - ili   85.  ka - bit - ti  Ili  rabati
*Babylon,    the mighty one of the great Gods.*

86. 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒁲 (v. 𒌌𒈨) 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒀀𒁺 𒈨𒁲 𒀀𒁺𒌋 𒐊 𒈨𒁲 𒈨𒁲 𒀀𒁲𒌋
    ul - tu (v. ultu)    Ḫa- da - at - ta - a at - tu   zir
    *From*        *Hadatta*    *I*    *departed;*

87. 𒀀 𒈨𒁲 𒀀𒁲𒌋 𒄑𒀭 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒄿 𒐊𒌋 𒈨𒁲 (𒈨𒌋) 𒐊𒀊
    ina    La- ri - ib  da  bit - dur  sa    abni
    *in*    *Laribda*    *a*    *tower*  *of*  *stones,*

88. 𒀀 𒂊𒇷 𒄖 𒀀𒁲 𒐊 𒈨 𒌋 𒐊𒀊 𒈨𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒀀𒁲
    ina  eli  gu  ub - ba - a  ni  sa  me  at  ta  di
    *over*  *against*  *lakes*  *of*  *water;*  *I*  *pitched*

𒈨𒁲 𒐊 𒈨    89. 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒐊𒀊 𒐊 𒀀𒁲 𒀀𒁲 𒐊 𒀀𒁲
    us -man - ni    umman ya  me  a - na mas - ti  ti  su - nu
    *my camp.*    *My*  *army*  *the*  *waters*  *for*  *their*  *drink*

𒀀𒁲 𒈨 𒌋 𒈨    90. 𒈨𒌋 𒈨 𒄿 𒀀𒁲 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒈨 𒈨
    iḫ - bu va    ir - du - u  il    li - ku qaq qar
    *desired, and*    *they*  *marched*  *and*  *went*  *over*

𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒐊 (v. 𒈨) 𒐊 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒀀𒁲    91. 𒐊 𒀀𒁲
    ẓu  um -mi (v. me)  a - sar  dan-dan- ti    a - di
    *arid*  *ground,*  *a*  *place*  *very*  *difficult,*    *to*

𒈨𒌋 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒀀𒁲𒌋 𒀀𒁲 𒈨 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒀀𒁲𒌋 𒈨
    Ḫu - ra  ri - na  bi  rit    Ya - ar  ki
    *Hurarina*    *near*    *Yarki,*

92. 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒐊𒐊 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒀀 𒀀𒁲 𒐊 𒈨 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒐊 𒈨
    va    Ai - al - la ina  Vas as  ru  ru - u - qu
    *and*    *Aialla*  *in*  *Vas, a place remote,*

93. 𒐊 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒈨 𒈨 𒀀𒁲 𒈨𒌋 𒄑𒀭 𒈨𒌋 (𒈨) 𒈨 𒐊
    a - sar  u -ma- am  ẓin  la  ib  ba - (as)  su - u
    *a*  *place*  *the*  *beast*  *of*  *the*  *desert*  *was*  *not*  *in,*

94. 𒐊𒈨𒌋 𒀀𒁲𒌋 𒐊 𒈨𒌋 𒈨𒌋 𒈨 𒈨𒌋 𒈨 (v. 𒐊𒁲 𒇷) 𒈨𒌋 𒇷
    va  iẓẓur same  la  i  sak -kan  (v. ka -nu)  qi -nu
    *and*  *a*  *bird*  *of*  *heaven*  *had*  *not*  *fixed*  *a*  *nest.*

95. 〈cuneiform〉

abikta            I - ṣa - am - mi - ih            halu(?)

*The overthrow of the      Isammih,            the servants*

96. 〈cuneiform〉                     (v. 〈cuneiform〉)

sa        A - tar - ṣa - ma - ai - in      va      (v. va)

*of                  Adarsamain,            and            the*

〈cuneiform〉            97. 〈cuneiform〉

Na    ba - ai - ta - ai            as - kun      nisi

*Nabateans.            I accomplished.  People,*

〈cuneiform〉            98. 〈cuneiform〉

imiri            gammali                  va      ze - e - ni

*asses,            camels,            and            sheep,*

(v. 〈cuneiform〉) 〈cuneiform〉

(v. zeni)            hu - bu - (uṣ -)  ṣu - nu ina la mi - ni

*their            plunder            innumerable;*

〈cuneiform〉      99. 〈cuneiform〉

aḥ - bu - ta            8 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru  umman  ya

*I carried away.      Eight kaspu of ground  my army*

100. 〈cuneiform〉
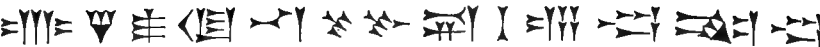
lu    u    it - tal - la - ku    sal - dis  sal - mis

*marched            victoriously,            peacefully*

〈cuneiform〉      101. 〈cuneiform〉

i - tu    ru - niv - va            ina            Ai - al - li

*they    returned, and            in            Aialli*

〈cuneiform〉      102. 〈cuneiform〉

is - tu - u    me    sar be - e            ultu  lib - (bi)

*they drank abundant waters;            from the midst of*

〈cuneiform〉

Ai - al - li    a - di      Qu - (ra) - zi - ti

*Aialli            to            Quraziti.*

103. [cuneiform]
6 kas-pu qaq-qa-ru a-sar ẓu-um-mi dan-dan-ti
*six kaspu of ground, a place arid and very difficult,*

104. [cuneiform]
ir-du-u il-li ku ha-lu sa
*they marched and went The worshippers(?) of*

[cuneiform] 105. [cuneiform]
A-tar-ṣa-ma-ai-in va Kid-ra-ai
*Adarsamain, and the Kidri*

[cuneiform] 106. [cuneiform]
U-ai-te-eh ablu Bir-vul
*of Vaiteh, son of Birvul*

(v. [cuneiform]) [cuneiform]
(v. Bir-da-ad-da) ṣar A ri-bi al-mi
*(v. Birdadda) king of Arabia, I besieged;*

107. [cuneiform]
Ili su ummu su hirati su allat ṣu qi-nu su
*his Gods, his mother, his ladies, his wife, his kin,*

108. [cuneiform]
nisi mati ki-rib ka-la-mu imiri
*the people in the midst all, the asses,*

109. [cuneiform] 110. [cuneiform]
gammali va ẓe-e-ni ma-la
*camels, and sheep; all*

[cuneiform] 111. [cuneiform]
ina tugul-ti Assur va Istar beli ya ik-su-da
*in the service of Assur and Ishtar my lords my*

[cuneiform]
qata ai mur-ra-an Di-mas-qa
*hands took. The road to Damascus*

112. 𒀀𒊓 𒁹 𒄑 𒉿 𒀸 𒋗 𒌋𒁷 𒈾 𒌋𒁷

u -sa-as- ki   na   se-pu- us -su-un   arah   Abu   arah

*I caused their feet to take.   In the month Ab, the month*

113. kakab   bam

bintu   sin   qa - sit - tu   immi   3

*of Sagittarius*       *daughter of Sin, the archer; the third day,*
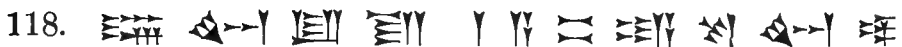
114. nu -be- tu

sa   sar   Ili   Maruduk   ul - tu

*the festival*       *of the king of the Gods, Merodach, from*

115. Di -mas-qa

at - tu   zir   6 kas-pu qaq-qa- ru

*Damascus*       *I departed.   Six kaspu of ground*

116. ina mati si - na   ka   la   sa

ar - de - e va

*in their country all of it*       *I marched, and*

117. al - lik   a - di    Hul - hu   li   ti    ina

*went to*      *Hulhuliti.*      *In*

Hu - uk - ku - ru   na   sad- u   mar- zu

*Hukkuruna,     the    rugged    mountain,*
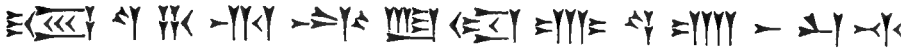
118. ha - lu   sa    A   bi   ya - te - eh   ablu

*the   servants   of     Abiyateh     son of*

Te- ha - ri    119. Kid- ra - ai   ak - su - ud   (v. sud)

*Tehari of*       *Kedar     I     captured;*

abikta   su   as - kun    120. as - lu - la   sal - lat   su

*his overthrow I accomplished,*      *I carried off his spoil.*

𒀭𒁉𒊩𒋼𒄴 𒀭𒈬   121.   𒀖 𒀭𒋀𒀀 𒋼𒄩𒊑
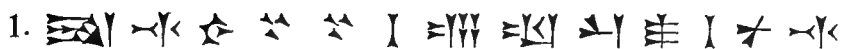
A-bi- ya -te- eh     Ai -mu          abli  Te- ha - ri

*Abiyateh      and      Aimu,      sons  of    Tehari,*

𒈾 𒆠 𒁉 Assur va Istar beli ya   122.   𒈾

ina  ki - bit  Assur va Istar    beli    ya              ina

*by command of Assur and Ishtar  my   lords,        in the*
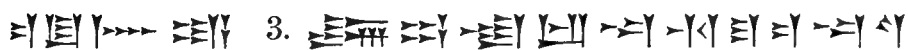
qabal tam-ḫa- ri  bal - ḏu - ṣun  u -ẓab- bit ina qa - ti

*midst     of     battle     alive     I    captured   in    hand.*

123.  qati va sepi bi - ri -tu parzil ad - di su-nu- ti

qati va sepi bi - ri -tu parzil ad - di su-nu- ti

*Hand  and foot  in  bonds  of  iron  I  placed  them,*


COLUMN IX.


1.  it - ti  sal  lat mati su - un   al - qa - as-su-nu- ti

*With   the   spoil   of   their   country  I  brought  them*


2.  a - na        Assur     mun - nab- ti   sa   la   pa   an

*to         Assyria.    The  fugitives, who  from  the  face of*


kakki     ya      in -nab- tu  ib  ba - ḫu va iẕ - ba-tu

*my soldiers        fled,  ascended(?)  and    took    to*


4.  Ḫu - uk -ku -ru -na  sad- u   mar   ẓu        ina

*Hukkuruna          the  rugged  mountain.      In*


La - an - ḫa - ab - bi * * * * ru        * * * * * an

*Laanhabbi     * * * * *        * * * * **

Lines 7 to 25 are lost, only the following ends of eight lines remain :—

a. ▨▨ 𒀭  b. ▨▨ 𒀀  c. ▨▨ 𒁀  d. ▨▨ 𒋢

    * *  u      * * u va     * * la     * * su - nu

    * * *       * * * *and*     * * *     * * *them*

e. ▨▨ iz - zi -tu     f. ▨▨ gammali

    * *   iz - zi -tu     * *   gammali

    * *    *strong*     * *   *camels*

g. ▨▨ qu     h. ▨▨ su

   * * * * * *   qu     * * * * * * su

   * * * * * *   *     * * * * * * *

26. alpi   ẓe - e - ni   imiri   gammali

     *oxen,*   *sheep,*   *asses,*   *camels*

27. a - mi - lu - tu   is - lu - lu - u - ni   ina   la   mi - ni

     *and*   *men,*   *they*   *carried*   *off*   *without*   *number.*
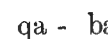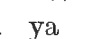
28. ṣi - ḫi   ip matu   ka - la -mu   a - na   ṣi - ḫir - ti su

     *The sweeping of all the country through its extent,*

29. um - da - al   lu   u   a   na   pat   gim - ri   sa

     *they collected through the whole of it.*

30. gam - mal - i   kima   ẓe   e   ni   u -par - ri -iz

     *Camels like sheep, I distributed and*

31. u - za - hi   iz   a   na   nisi   Assur

     *caused to overflow to the people of Assyria*
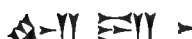
32. 𒀀𒉿 𒊏𒌷 𒋾 𒈠𒋾 𒅀 𒄤𒁃 𒆳 𒀀 𒊏𒀀 33. 𒅆 𒎙

qa - bal    ti    mati    ya    gammal    ½ * *

*dwelling in my country.    A camel    for half a shekel,*

𒊏 𒅆 𒎙 𒈨 𒀜 𒁺 𒅖 𒋫 𒈬 𒀀 𒁁 𒈠 𒄭 𒊑

ina  ½  * *  kas - pi   i - sam - mu  ina  bab  ma - ḫi - ri

*in half shekels of silver, they valued in front of the gate;*

34. 𒍪 - ud - mu ina ni - id - ni    nakmi(?)  ina ḫa - be - e

ẓu - ud - mu ina ni - id - ni    nakmi(?)  ina ḫa - be - e

*the spoil(?) in the sale of captives among the strong*

35. ▨▨▨▨▨▨    𒐕 𒀀 𒄭𒁺 𒊏 ⟨𒂊⟩ (𒁁) ⟨𒀀

* * * * * *    sa    pa - ḫir  ina  ki - (i) - si

* * * * * *  *which  were  gathered  in  droves,*

36. 𒄿 𒐕 𒈾 𒈾 𒄩 𒊒    𒄤𒁃 𒆳 𒀀𒊏𒀀 𒀀 ⟨𒀀𒈨⟩

im - da - na - ḫa - ru          gammali              va

*they          bartered          camels          and*

𒐖 𒁺 𒈨 𒋻    37. 𒁹 𒅖 𒐖 𒄴 𒀀 𒀀 𒐖 ⟨𒉿

a - mi - lu - tu              U - ai - te - eh    a - di

*men.*              *Vaiteh    and    the*

𒈨 𒐖 𒄭𒊑 𒈦    38. 𒐕 𒐖 ⟨𒉿 𒆳 𒀀𒁁 ▨▨▨

A - ri - bi          sa   a - di - ya    *   *   *   *   *

*Arabians,*          *who my agreement*   *   *   *   *   *

39. 𒐕 𒅆 𒀀 𒊏 𒀜 𒐕 𒂊 𒀀𒈨 𒌋𒐖 𒐕𒐕

sa    la    pa - an    kakki    Assur    bel    [ya]

*who from the face of the soldiers of Assur  [my]  lord,*

40. 𒁁𒐖 𒀀 ⟨𒀀 [𒐖𒐖] 𒐖 𒅆𒈨 𒄭𒀀 𒈨 𒋻

ip - par - si - [du]    va    in - nab - tu - ni

*fled          and          got          away;*

41. 𒌋𒌋𒐖 𒌋𒐖 ⟨𒀀 𒁁 𒄭𒀀 𒐕 𒂊𒀀 42. 𒈨𒐖 𒈨𒑰 ⟨𒂊

u - sam - kit    Ninip    qar - du    ṣu    un - [ki

*Ninip    the    warrior    destroyed,*    *in    want*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
bu - bu - ti    nap - sat    ṣu] - un    is - sa - kin    va
[*and    famine    their    lives*]    *were    spent,    and*

43. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
a - na    bu - ri    [su - nu    e - ku]- lu    ṣeri    mari    su - nu
*for    their    food    they    eat    the    flesh    of    their    children.*

44. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
ina        ar - ra - a    * * * *        *        * * *
*With        a    curse(?)    * * * *        *        * * **

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 (v. 𒀭)
e    di - id - di    su - nu        gagara    (v. ru?)
· *    * * * * * * * *        *them*        * * * *

45. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 [𒀭 𒀭] 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
ina    bit    Assur    abu        [Ili]        lim(?)    mu    su - nu - ti
*in the house of Assur father of [the Gods]    * * *        them*

46. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
Assur        Sin        Samas        Vul        Bel        Nabu
*Assur,        Sin,        Shamas,        Vul,        Bel,        Nebo,*

47. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
Istar        sa        Ninua        Il        ṣar - rat    Kit - mu - ri
*Ishtar        of        Nineveh, the    divine    queen    of    Kitmuri,*
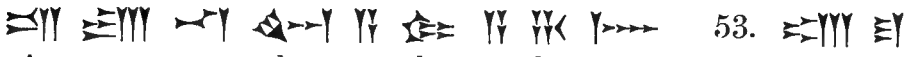
48. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
Istar        sa    Arba- il        Ninip        Nergal        Nusku
*Ishtar        of        Arbela,        Ninip,        Nergal,        Nusku,*

49. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 50. 𒀭 𒀭
ba - ak - ru    ṣu - ḫi - ru    alpu    ẓēnu        ina    eli
*camels(?)        strong,        oxen    and    sheep,        more than*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
7    ta - a    an    mu - se - ni - qa - a - ti    e - ni - qu - u    va
*seven        the        sacrificers        sacrificed,        and*
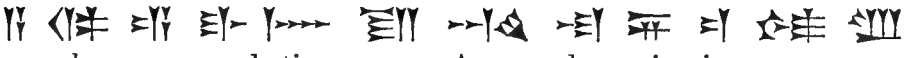
51. si - iṣ - pu la u - ṣap - pu - u ka - raṣ ṣun
*for eating they did not eat their carcasses.*
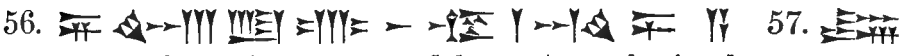
52. nisi A - ri - bi edin a - na edin
*The people of Arabia one to another,*
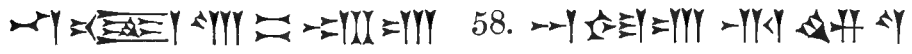
is - ta - na - ḫa - a - lū a - ḫa - mis 53. um - ma
*addressed each other thus:*

ina eli me - ne - e ki i ip - se - tu 54. an - ni - tu
*" Concerning the number of these evil things,*

limut - tu im ḫu - ru A - ri - bi 55. um - ma as - su
*which happened to Arabia, because*

a - de - e rabati sa Assur la ni - iẓ - ẓu - ru
*the great agreements with Assur we have not regarded;*

56. ni iḫ - ḏu - u ina ḏabtu Assur - bani - pal 57. ṣar
*and we have sinned against the benefits of Assurbanipal, the king,*

na - ram lib - bi Bel 58. Belat ri - im - tu
*the delight of the heart of Bel." Beltis the consort of*

Bel - i - ti 59. ka - dir - ti i - la a - ti
*Bel, the guardian of divinity;*

60. sa it - ti A - nu va. Bel sit - lu du - at
*who with Anu and Bel in dominion*

61. 〔cuneiform〕 (v. 〔cuneiform〕) 〔cuneiform〕
man-za- zu    u - na -qab (v. qab?)    nakiri    ya  ina
*is   established :  pierced*             *my   enemies  with*

〔cuneiform〕 62. 〔cuneiform〕
garni   sa bi - ra -a- te       Istar  a- si -bat Arba-  il
*horns    of    iron.*         *Ishtar  dwelling in  Arbela,*

〔cuneiform〕   63. 〔cuneiform〕
isati    lab - bu -sat       *  *  *  *  *  *  *    na - sa - at
*with  fire  clothed;*        *  *  *  *  *  *  *    drought (?)*

〔cuneiform〕
eli        A - ri   bi    i - ẓa- an   nun   nab   li
*upon      Arabia          poured           down.*

64. 〔cuneiform〕
Uruki       qar - du  a -nun- tu  ku- uẓ -ẓur va
*Uruki    the    warrior,   mourning    caused   and*

65. 〔cuneiform〕
u  - ra - (aṣ) - ṣi - ba      ga - ri    ya
*destroyed            my              enemies.*

66. 〔cuneiform〕
Nin - ip   tar - ṭa - ḫu   qar - ra - du   rab - u
*Ninip      fierce,      in      war      great,*

67. 〔cuneiform〕
ablu        Bel    ina   uẓ - ẓi   su   kap - ti
*the  son  of  Bel;    with   his    mighty    arrows*

68. 〔cuneiform〕 [〔cuneiform〕] 〔cuneiform〕
u  -par- ri - [ir]  na - pis - ti   nakiri    ya
*destroyed      the      life    of    my    enemies.*

69. 〔cuneiform〕
Nusku    suqul na - ha - du mu -sa- bu -u bel-u- ti
*Nusku   the  glorious  messenger,  sitting  in  dominion;*

70. [cuneiform]
sa   ina   ki - bit   Assur        Belat    * * *    bit
*who   by   command   of   Assur   and   Beltis   * * *   **

71. [cuneiform]                                72. [cuneiform]
qa - sit - tu      Be - lat  * * *  * ki              ida   ai
*The archer, the Goddess of * * * * *              my forces*

[cuneiform]
il - lik   va   iz  * * * * *      as - ru   ṣar - u - ti
*preceded, and   *   * * * * *      place   of   my   kingdom,*

73. [cuneiform]
me - eh - rit   umman   [ya]   iz - bat   va
*the   front   of   my   army   took   and*

74. [cuneiform]                          75. [cuneiform]
u - sam - [kit]   ga - ri   ya            ti - bu - ut * * *
*destroyed   my   enemies.                The stroke * * **

[cuneiform]                76. [cuneiform]
Assur   Istar            va   Ili   rabati   beli   ya
*Assur, Ishtar,          and   the   great   Gods   my   lords,*

77. [cuneiform]
sa   ina   e - [pis   ta - ha - zu   il - li] - ku
*who   in   making   [war],   went   to   the*

[cuneiform]          78. [cuneiform]
ri   zu   ti         umman   [ya   U - ai - te - eh]
*help   of*          *my   army:   Vaiteh*

[cuneiform]        79. [cuneiform]
is - mu - u va       eli   [ip - se - e   ti   an   na   a - ti]
*heard of, and*      *over   [these   things]*

[cuneiform]        80. [cuneiform]
ip  luh   va         ul - [tu   Na   ba - ai - ti
*feared,   and*      *from   [Nabatea*

𒁹𒊏𒋾𒌋𒐉 𒁹      81.    𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
u -se]-ẓa- av -va      ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul
*I] brought out, and*    *in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,*

𒁹𒌋𒐉 𒁹𒌋    82.   𒀭 𒊓 𒉌𒉡𒀀 𒅋 𒊬 - rat Kit-mu- ri
Bel Nabu      Istar   sa   Ninua   Il   ṣar - rat Kit-mu- ri
*Bel,   Nebo,*     *Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

83.   𒀭 𒊓 Arba - il   Ninip   Nergal   Nusku
     Istar    sa Arba - il   Ninip   Nergal   Nusku
     *Ishtar    of    Arbela,    Ninip,    Nergal and Nusku,*

84.      uṣ ṣu va u - ra -a su a - na   Assur
     ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳   uṣ   ṣu   va   u   - ra -a su a - na   Assur
     ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳   *him,   and   sent   him   to   Assyria.*

85.      ya sa a - na ka - sad   nakiri ya
     ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳   ya   sa   a - na   ka - sad   nakiri   ya
     ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳   *who   to   capture   my   enemies*

86.      aḥ -ḥa- ru ina ki - bit Assur va   Belat
     ✳ ✳ ✳   aḥ -ḥa- ru ina ki - bit Assur va   Belat
     ✳ ✳ ✳   *fought.   By command of Assur and Beltis,*

87.    ina iz - ḥu - ut -ẓa(?) dan(?) ✳ ✳ ✳   sa   ẓi - bit qati ya
     *with   a   mace(?)   which   was   grasped   by   my   hand.*

88.      ṣeri mi - ẓi su ab - lu - us    89.   ina du - uḥ
     *the flesh coming out of him, his son,    in sight of*

(v. la - aḥ)   eni su at - ta   di   ẓir - ri - tu.
(v. la - aḥ)   eni su at - ta   di   ẓir - ri - tu.
     *his    eyes    I    struck    down.*

90.      ul - li kalbi la ad - di su va   91.   ina bab
     *With the dogs I did not place him,    in the gate*

𒍝 𒊺 𒄢 𒌓 𒅗 𒊩𒊩𒊩 𒍑 𒊏𒁕 𒉌𒉌𒀀 92. 𒍝
zi - it   Sam - si   qabal           Ninua        sa
*of   the   rising   sun,   in   the   midst   of   Nineveh,        which,*

𒆠 𒉌 𒁁 𒉆 𒋾 𒀜 𒈾 𒀀 𒋾     𒈾   𒁄 𒌑   𒍝 𒆼 𒊓
Ni - rib -par- nak - ti -ad - na -a - ti       na   bu -u   zi -kar sa
*Nirib-parnakti-adnati            is   called   its   name;*

93. 𒌋 𒉿 𒊓 𒀭 𒍣 𒅕 𒊻 𒋛 𒂵 𒊒 (v. 𒋛 -𒂵 𒊒)
   u -sa-an - zir   su   si - ga - ru   (v. si - gar- ru)
   *I   caused   to   keep   him   chained,*

94. 𒀀 𒈾 𒁕 𒇻 𒋫 𒊻 𒋾 𒀸𒋩 𒌍 𒈾
   a - na   da - lal   ta - us   ti   Assur   Istar   va
   *to   exalt   the   will   of   Assur,   Ishtar   and*

𒅋 𒊏𒁀𒋾   95. 𒁁 𒇉 𒀀 𒊑 𒂊 𒈬 𒅈 𒋛
   Ili   rabati        beli   ya   re - e -mu   ar   si
   *the   great   Gods        my   lords.   Favour   I   granted*

𒋢 𒉿 𒌑 𒁄 𒇷 𒉴 𒊓 𒋢 96. 𒀸
su   va   u - bal - lid   nap - sat   su        ina
*him,   and   saved   his   life.        On*
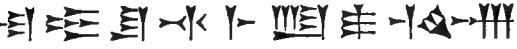
𒋫 𒀀𒅀 𒅈 𒋾 𒅀 𒌋 𒋢 𒌋 97. 𒍝 𒀸
ta - ay - ar - ti   ya   U - su - u        sa ina
*my        return        Usu,        which by*
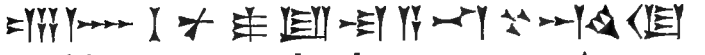
𒀀 𒄭 𒌓 𒌓 𒀜 𒋢 𒁁 𒋢 𒀝 𒋢 𒌓 (v. 𒀝 𒋢)
a - hi tam- ti   id - da - at   su -bat   su   ak -su-ud (v. aksud)
*the   side   of   the   sea   has   its   place,   I   captured.*

98. 𒌋𒉌𒋛   𒌋 𒋢 𒌋 𒊓 𒀀 𒈾   𒊓𒉡𒋾 (𒋢) 𒋢 𒉡
   nisi        U - su-u sa a - na        sanuti        su-nu
   *The   people   of   Usu,   who   to   their   prefects*

99. 𒆷 𒊬 𒀀 𒆬 𒆷 𒄿 𒈾 𒁲 𒉡 𒌋𒌋 𒈠 𒁕 𒀜 𒌅
   la   sa - an - qu   la   i - nā - di -nu man- da - at   tu
   *were   not   reverent,   and   did   not   give   the   tribute,*

100.

na - dan mat- ti su- un  a - duk ina lib - bi    nisi

*the gift of their country, I slew.    Amongst the people*

101.

la kan- su- ti sib- du as- kun

*unsubmissive, chastisement I inflicted.*

102.

Ili   su-nu

*Their Gods*
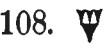
nisi   su-nu as - lu - la a - na        Assur        nisi

*and  their  people I carried off  to Assyria.    The people of*

103.
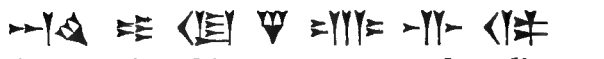
Ak - ku - u  la  kan- su- ti  a - nar        pagri

*Akko unsubmissive,  I  destroyed.        Their bodies*

104.
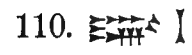
su - nu ina    ga - si - si  a - lul  și - hir - ti  ali

*in   the   dust  I  threw  down;  the  whole  of  the  city*

105.

u - sal- mi  și - it - tu - ti  su- nu  al - qa - a

*I   quieted.       The   rest   of   them   I   brought*

106.

a - na        Assur    a - na   ki - zir   ak - zur va

*to        Assyria,   in   rank   I   arranged,  and*

107.

eli    umman   ya  ma- ha - da - a - ti       sa

*over      my    numerous      army,       which*

108.

Assur    i   ki - sa   u - rad - di       Ai -mu ablu

*Assur   strengthened,  I  spread.       Aimu son of*

109.

Te- ha - ri    it - ti  A- bi- ya -te- eh       ahu su

*Tehari,       with       Abiyateh       his brother*

110.

𒐗 ... 
i - zi - zu  va  it - ti  umman  ya  e -pu-su  taḫaz
*had  risen,  and  with  my  army  had  made  war.*
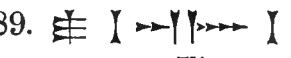
(v. ta - ḫa - zu)  111.  ina  qabal  tam - ḫa - ri
*In the  midst  of  battle,*

bal - ḍu - uṣ - ṣu  ina qati  aẓ -bat  112.  ina  Ninua
*alive  in  hand  I  captured;  in  Nineveh*
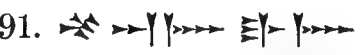
alu bel - u - ti  ya ma- sak  (v. masak) su as -ḫu -ud
*the  city  of  my  dominion  his  skin  I  tore  off.*
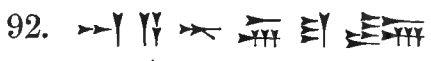
## CYLINDER B, COLUMN VII.

87.  Ya -u- ta - ah  ablu  Ḫa-za- il  88.  ṣar
*Yautah  son  of  Hazael  king of*

Qi - id - ri  e -pis ardu- ti  ya  89.  as -su Ili  su
*Kedar,  made  submission  to  me;  for  his  Gods,*

sa  abu  ba -nu -u  a  is - lu- lu  im - ḫar  an  ni va
*which the father my begetter had carried off, he prayed me, and*

90.  u - zal - la -a  ṣar - u - ti  91.  sumi Ili  rabati
*submitted  to  my kingdom.  The names of the great Gods*

u ·sa- az  kir su-(u) va  92.  A -tar- ṣa -ma- in
*I made him swear by, and  Adarsamain*

u - tir   va a-din su    93.   ar - ka -nu ina a- di - ya
*I restored and gave him.*     *Afterwards against my agreement*

iḥ - ḍi va    94.   ḍa - ab ti la iẓ- ẓur va iz- la - a
*he sinned, and*     *benefits did not regard, and threw off*

niru   bel - u   ti   ya    95.   a - na   sa - ha - al
*the yoke of my dominion.*     *To*     *seek*

sul - mi ya   sepu su ip - ru - uṣ   va    96.   ik - la - a
*my alliance his feet broke off, and*     *he discontinued*

ta - mar - ti    97.   nisi   A - ri - bi   it - ti su
*the presents.*    *The people of Arabia*    *with him*
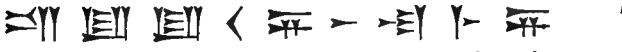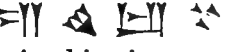
u - sa - pal - kit va    98.   iḥ - ta - nab - ba - tu
*he caused to revolt, and*     *carried away the*

ḥu - bu - ut     Ḫatti    99.   umman   ya   sa ina
*plunder of Syria.*     *My army which on the*

me   ṣir   mati su as - bu    100.   u - ma - he - e - ra
*border of his country was stationed,*     *I sent*
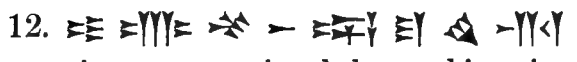
ẓi - ru   us - su
*against him;*
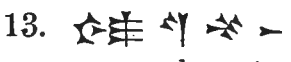
## Column VIII.
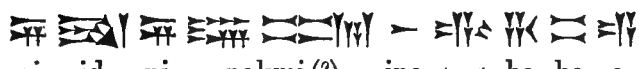
1. 〈𒁹𒀀 〈𒁹𒀀 𒁹 𒈫 𒈾 𒂖 𒈫 𒌍 𒁹 𒐖 𒐏 𒌋 𒐖
abikta su-nu is - ku-nu nisi A ri - bi
*his overthrow they accomplished.   The people of Arabia,*

2. 𒂖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 〈 𒈫 𒂖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒁹 𒂖 𒂖 𒐖
ma- la it - bu-u-ni u - ra - ṣi -bu ina kakki
*all who came they destroyed with the sword,*

3. 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒁹 𒈫 4. 𒐖𒐖𒂖
bit - ẓin zir - ta - ri mu-sa - bi su-nu kamu
*the tents, the pavilions, their dwellings, a fire*

𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 〈𒐖 𒐖 𒁹 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒈫 5. 𒐖𒐖𒐖
u -sa - ḫi - zu ip - ki -du a - na isati alpi
*they raised and gave to the flames. Oxen,*

𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 6. 𒁹 𒁹 𒐖 𒐖
ẓe e - ni imiri gam -mal- i a -mi- lu tu
*sheep, asses, camels and men,*

𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 〈 𒈫 𒐖 𒁹 𒈫 7. 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖
is - lu - lu - u -ni ina la mi - ni ṣi - ḫi ip matu
*they carried off without number.   The sweeping of all the*

𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒁹 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒁹
ka la - mu a - na ṣi - ḫir - ti - su
*country, through its extent*

8. 𒐖 𒐖 (𒐖) 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒁹 𒐖 〈𒐖 〈𒐖 𒐖 𒐖
um - da - (na) - al - lu - u a - na pat gim - ri sa
*they collected through the whole of it.*

9. 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 〈𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖 𒐖
gam - mal i kima ẓe - e - ni u -par- ri - iṣ
*Camels like sheep I distributed,*

10. 𒀭 𒌋 𒈾 𒄭 𒄿 𒍪 𒀀 𒈾    nisi        A - ri - bi
u - za - hi - iz a - na    nisi        A - ri - bi
*and  caused  to  overflow  to  the  people  of  Arabia*

11. 𒃮 𒁄 𒋾 mati ya    gam - mal ½ ** ina ½ ** kas - pi
qa - bal - ti mati ya    gam - mal ½ ** ina ½ ** kas - pi
*dwelling in my country.   A camel for half a shekel in half shekels of*
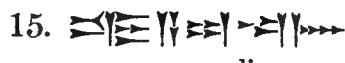
12. 𒄿 𒊓 𒈬 ina bab ma - ḫi    ri          13. 𒍪 𒌓 𒈬 ina
i - sam - mu ina bab ma - ḫi    ri          ẓu - ud - mu ina
*silver they valued in front of the gate          the spoil(?)   in*

ni - id - ni    nakmi(?)    ina ** ḫa - be - e          14. ** * ḫir
ni - id - ni    nakmi(?)    ina ** ḫa - be - e               * gathered(?)
*the sale of captives among ** the strong           * gathered(?)*
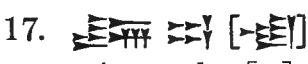
ina ki - i - si    im - da - na - ḫa - ru          15. gammali
ina ki - i - si    im - da - na - ḫa - ru               gammali
*in    droves,    they    bartered          camels*

va    a - mi - lu - tu          16. **** A - ri - bi
va    a - mi - lu - tu               **** A - ri - bi
*and        men          ***** the Arabians*

sa    la    pa - an    kakki    ya          17. in - nab - [tu]
sa    la    pa - an    kakki    ya               in - nab - [tu]
*who from the face of my soldiers          fled;*
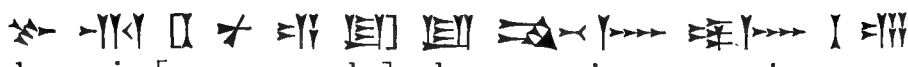
u - sam - kit    Ninip    qar - du          18. ṣu - un - [ki
u - sam - kit    Ninip    qar - du               ṣu - un - [ki
*Ninip the warrior destroyed.          In want [and*

bu - bu - ti nap - sat  ṣu] - un    is - sa - kin va          19. a - na
bu - bu - ti nap - sat  ṣu] - un    is - sa - kin va               a - na
*famine]    their    [life]    was    passed,    and          for*

bu - ri    [su - nu    e - ku] - lu          ṣeri          mari    su - un
*their    food    they    eat    the    flesh    of    their    children*

20. ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ru

21. ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ Istar sa Ninua
✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ *Ishtar* *of* *Nineveh*

✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳
✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳

22. Ya -u- ta - ah ma - ru - us - tu
*Yautah* *misfortune*

im - ḫar su va
*happened* *to* *him,* *and*

23. e -dis- si su in - na - bit a - na
*alone* *he* *fled* *to*

Na - ba - ai - ti
*Nabatea.*

24. A - bi - ya te - eh ablu
*Abiyateh* *son* *of*

Te - he - ri
*Teheri,*

25. a - na Ninua il - lik - av - va
*to* *Nineveh* *came* *and*

u - na - as - siq sepi ya
*kissed* *my* *feet.*

26. a - de - e e - pis
*An agreement to make*

ardu ti ya it - ti su as - kun
*submission* *to* *me* *with* *him* *I* *made;*

27. ku um
*instead of*

Ya -u- ta - ah ina aiumma as - kun su ana ṣar -u - ti
*Yautah* *or any one, I appointed him to the kingdom.*

28. huraz eni aban pi gu - uḫ - lu
*Gold,* *eyes* *of* *pi* *stone,* *guhlu,*

gam - mal - i
*camels* *and*

29. imiri bit - ridu - ti
*stallion* *asses,*

𒀹 𒂍 𒄒 𒈦 𒀹 𒁉 𒂍        30. 𒂍 𒂍

man - da - at - tu   mat - ti   sam - ma              u - kin
*tribute*     *for*     *every*     *year*              *I fixed*

𒈾 𒄀 𒂍       31. 𒁹 𒆠 𒀹 𒂍 𒀹 (𒂍) 𒂍

ẓir - us - su              Am - mu - la - di - (in)   ṣar
*upon him.*                *Ammuladin*            *king of*

𒀹 𒁉 𒂍 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨 𒂍 𒀹 𒁉 𒁹 (𒂍) 32. 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨

Qa - ad - ri   sa   ki - ma   sa - a - su (va)        ik - ki - ru
*Kedar,*     *who*   *like*     *him*     *also*           *revolted*

𒈨𒈨 𒂍𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒀹 𒀹 𒂍 𒈨

iḥ   ta - nab - ba - tu   ḥu - bu - ut   ṣarri
*and*   *carried*   *away*   *the*   *plunder*   *of*   *the*   *kings of*

𒀹 𒂍 𒈨 𒂍       33. 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨

Ḥatti              ina tugul - ti   Assur   Sin   Samas
*Syria;*            *In the service of Assur,*   *Sin,*   *Shamas,*

𒈨𒈨 𒂍𒈨 𒂍𒈨       34. 𒈨 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨

Vul   Bel   Nabu              Istar   sa   Ninua   Il
*Vul,*   *Bel,*   *Nebo,*              *Ishtar*   *of*   *Nineveh the divine*

𒂍𒈨 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨 𒈨   35. 𒈨 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨 𒈨 𒈨
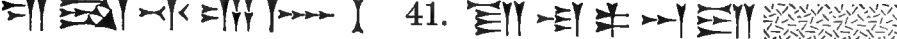
ṣar - rat   Kit - mu - ri              Istar   sa   Arba - il   Ninip
*queen of*   *Kitmuri,*              *Ishtar*   *of*   *Arbela,*   *Ninip,*

𒈨𒈨 𒈨𒈨       36. 𒈨 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨 [𒂍 𒈨] 𒈨

Nergal   Nusku              ina   zi - kar sumi   [ya   sa]   Assur
*Nergal and Nusku;*          *by the power of [my] name [which] Assur*

𒂍𒈨 𒂍𒈨 𒈨 𒈨   37. 𒁹 𒂍𒈨 [𒂍?] 𒂍 𒈨 𒂍𒈨 𒁹 𒂍

u   sar - bu - u              Ka - [ma]- az - ḥal - ta - a   ṣar
*had*   *magnified,*              *Kamazhalta(?)*         *king of*

𒀹 𒂍 𒈨 𒁹 𒈨   38. 𒈨 𒂍 𒈨 [𒈨 𒈨 𒂍] 39. 𒈨

Ma - ha - a - ab              ardu da - gil [pa - ni ya]        ina
*Moab,*                        *a tributary dependent on me,*      *in the*

[cuneiform] 40. [cuneiform]

taḫaz ẓin is-ku-na abikta su     Am-mu-la-di (in)

*battle field accomplished his overthrow.*     *Ammuladin*

[cuneiform] 41. [cuneiform]

ṣi-it-ti nisi su     sa la pa-an da * * * *

*and the rest of his people,*     *who from the face of * * * ***

[cuneiform] 42. [cuneiform] 43. [cuneiform]

u-ni     u -ẓab- bit ina qati     qati va sepi bi ri-tu

* *     *he captured in hand.*     *His hands and feet in bonds of*

[cuneiform] 44. [cuneiform]

parzil id-di va     a-na Ninua a-di

*iron he placed, and*     *to Nineveh to*

[cuneiform] 45. [cuneiform]

mah ri ya u -se-bi-la     Na-ad-nu ṣar

*my presence he sent.*     *Nathan king of*

[cuneiform] 46. [cuneiform]
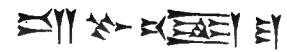
Na-ba-ai ti     sa a-sar su ru, u-qu

*Nabatea,*     *whose place is remote,*

47. [cuneiform]
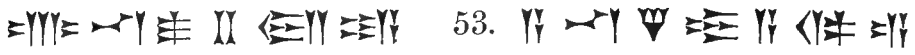
is-ma-a da-na-an Assur Maruduk sa

*heard of the power of Assur and Merodach, who*

[cuneiform] 48. [cuneiform]

u-tag-gil-u in ni     sa ma-ti-ma a na

*protect me :*     *who in times past to the*

[cuneiform] 49. [cuneiform]

ṣarri abi ya     a-mir su la is-pu-ra

*kings my fathers*     *his envoy did not send,*

50. [cuneiform] 51. [cuneiform]

la is-a-lu su-lum ṣaru ti su-un     e nin-na

*and did not seek alliance with their kingdom.*     *Again*

𒐊𒌋 𒄩𒐊 𒐊𒌋 𒐊𒌋 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊  52. 𒐊𒐊 𒄩 𒐊𒐊 𒐊
ya -a- ti        a- mir su sa   sul -mi        is -pu-  rav  -va
*to     me   his   envoy   for   alliance      he   sent ;   and*

𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊  53. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
u - na-as-siq sepi ya              a  na sa-kan a- de - e
*kissed       my      feet.        To establish agreement and*

𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊  54. 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊
ṣu -lum-me- e  e -pis ardu- ti  ya         u -za- na- al - la -a
*alliance, and make submission to me,     he   submitted  to*

𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊   55. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
be - lu - u - ti      a  na - ku ḥa-dis ap -pa- lis  su  va
*my dominion.         I   gladly   received   him,   and*

56.  𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊  𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊  𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊
     pa   ni  ya   damqati    eli   su  as - kun
     *before  me   favours   on   him   conferred,*

57.  𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊  𒐊𒐊  𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊
     belat    man - da    at - tu  san - ti   sam - ma
     *taxes    and    tribute   for   every   year*

𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊
u   kin   zir - us -su
*I   fixed   upon   him.*

K, 2802, Column II.   Variant Passage for Cylinder B,
Column VIII, Lines 31 to 52.

*a.*  𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊
      Am - mu- la   di - in   ṣar    Qa - ad - ri
      *Ammuladin            king   of     Kedar,*
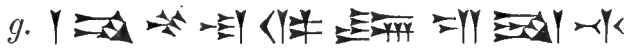
*b.*  𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊
      sa    ki   ma  sa - a - su  va   ik - ki - ru
      *who    like   him   also   revolted ;*

*c.* iḫ ta -nab- ba tu ḫu bu -ut Hatti
*carried away the spoil of Syria,*

*d.* ardi da -gil pa- ni ya *e.* sa tu sak -ni -sa
*the tributaries dependent on me, whom thou hast subdued*

a - na niri ya *f.* ina zi kar sumi ya sa Assur
*to my yoke. By the power of my name which Assur*

u sar bu -u *g.* Am -mu- la- di in ṣi it ti
*had magnified, Ammuladin and the rest of*

nisi su *h.* sa la pà -an da * * * * nab- tu -u- ni
*his people, who from the face of the * * * * fled,*

*i.* u -ẓab- bit ina qati *j.* qati va niri bi ri tu parzil
*I captured in hand. Hand and foot in bonds of iron*

ad - di su va *k.* u ra a na Assur
*I placed him, and sent to Assyria.*

*l.* A- di ya ṣar rat A- ri -bi *m.* di ik ta
*Adiya queen of Arabia, [her] numerous*

[sa] ma - ḫa - aṣ - ṣu ad -duk *n.* zir - ta re - e sa
*fighting men I slew, her pavilions*

ina isati ak -mu *o.* sa -a -sa bal ṭu uṣ ṣa ina
*in the fire I burned, her alive in*

qati aẓ -bat    *p.* it ti ḫu-bu-ut [A- ri -bi as]- si
hand I captured,    and with the spoil of [Arabia] I carried

a- na    Assur    *q.* Na -ad -nu ṣar Na- ba - ai - ti
to    Assyria.    Nathan king of Nabatea,

*r.* sa a- sar su ru - u - qu    *s.* is -me- e va
whose place was. remote ;    heard also of

da - na an Assur sa u - tag -gil an - ni    *t.* sa
the power of Assur who protected me :    who

ma - te - e - ma a - na ṣarri abi ya
in time past to the kings my fathers,

*u.* a- mir su la is -pu - ru    *v.* la is -a- lu su- lum
his envoy did not send,    and did not seek alliance

ṣaru ti su- un    *w.* ul - tu U ai -te - eh ṣar
with their kingdom.    On Vaiteh king of

A- ri -bi    *x.* de - en su tu -sa -an -nu tag bu -u
Arabia,    his sentence thou didst pronounce, thou didst

ṣa -pa - aḫ mati su    *y.* a - na Na- ba - ai - ti
command to waste his country.    To Nabatea
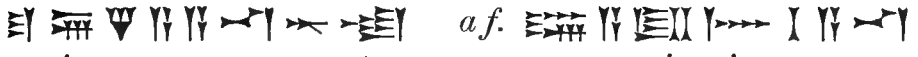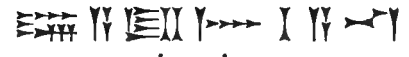
in -nab-tu    *z.* il - li -ku ma- ḫar Na -ad -nu
he fled,    and came before Nathan.

*a a.* 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭  *a b.* 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

Na - ad -nu a - na    U - ai - te- eh    ki -a- am

*Nathan    to    Vaiteh    even*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭  *a c.* 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
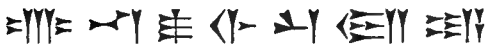
ig -bi su va    um -ma a - na -ku ina qati    Assur

*said, to him    thus : " I  in  the  hands  of  Assyria*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭  *a d.* 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

ul - te  zi - i - bi    va    at    ta    tas    kun

*am    fast    bound,    and    thou    reliest    on*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭  *a e.* 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

an - ni  a - na  dan-nu- ti    ka    Na - ad -nu  ip - luh

*me    to    strengthen    thee."    Nathan    feared*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭  *a f.* 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

va  ir -sa-a a - na  suq- tu    a - mir - i  su a- na

*and  inclined  to  despair;    his    envoys    to*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭  *a g.* 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

sa - ha - al    sul    mi    ya    is - pur - av - va

*seek    my    alliance    he    sent,    and*

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

u  - na - as - si -qa    sepi    ya

*kissed    my    feet.*


K, 2802, COLUMN III.    VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A,
COLUMN VIII, LINES 70 TO 82.

*a.*   𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 [𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭]

ar  - di  ur - hi  [ru - qu - u - ti  e  bil]

*I    marched,    a    [distant]    path    [I    took],*

*b.*  𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

e - te    li    har - sa - a - ni    sa - [qu - ti]

*I    ascended    the    lofty    country,*

*c.* 𒀄𒋫𒇻𒌒 𒄑𒋾     *d.* 𒊭 𒍝 𒈜

ah - ta - lu - ub    kisti       sa   zu   lul

*I passed through the forests,*     *of which their shadow*
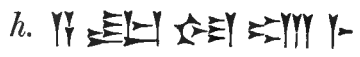
si - na   rap - su    *e.* bi - rit   izi   rabati   gi - iz - zu

     *was vast,*      *bounded by trees great and strong,*
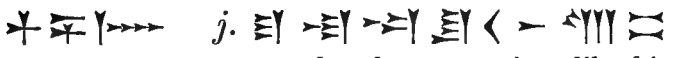
*f.* 　* * * * * * *　 mur - ra - nu iz   id - di - tu

*and vines(?)* * * *    *a   road   of   mighty   wood.*
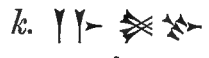
*g.* e - te - ti - iq   ki - rib   Vas    *h.* a - sar   zu - um - mi

   *I went to the midst of Vas,*    *a   place   arid   and*

dan - dan - ti    *i.* sa   iz   zur   same   imiri   zini

*very difficult,*    *where the birds of heaven and wild asses*

* * * *    *j.* ma - la   ba - su - u ina   lib - bi    *k.* 100 kas - pu

* * * *    *are   all   there   is   in   it.*    100 *kaspu*
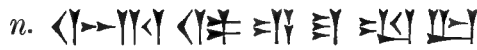
qaq - qa   ru   ultu   Ninua    *l.* alu   na   ram   Is - tar

*of   ground   from   Nineveh,*    *the city the delight of Ishtar*

hi - rat   Bel    *m.* zir   U   ai - te - eh   sar

*wife   of   Bel;*    *against    Vaiteh    king of*
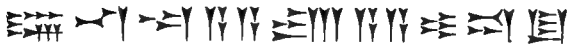
A - ri - bi    *n.* ar   de   e   va   al - lik

*Arabia*    *I   marched   and   went.*

EXTRACT FROM K, 2802, COLUMN III. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VIII, LINES 95 TO 97.

*a.* 〈𒀀 𒁲 𒅗 𒁕 𒈾 𒇷𒅔 𒌋 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒀭𒁕

di - ik -tu ina lib     I   ṣa - am - mi   ih

*The   fighting   men   among   the     Isammih,*

*b.* 𒄩𒇻 𒀀𒋻 𒊓 𒈠 𒀀𒄿 𒅔    *c.* 〈𒄿𒂊𒌋

halu(?)     A -tar - sa - ma- ai - in     va

*the   servants   of     Adarsamain,     and   the*

𒈾𒁀 𒀀𒄿 𒋫𒀀𒄿 𒄿𒁺𒆪 𒂊    *d.* 𒉌𒋛𒌋, &c.

Na - ba   ai    ta - ai   i -du -ku      nisi,    &c.

*Nabateans     they   slew.     People,    &c.*

EPIGRAPHS ON K, 3096.

*a.* 𒀀 𒈾 𒆪   Assur-bani-pal ṣar   Assur sa ina ki bit
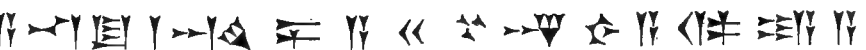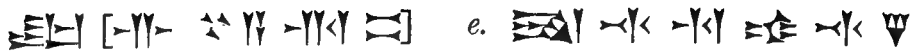
a - na -ku    Assur-bani-pal ṣar    Assur sa ina ki   bit

*I   am    Assurbanipal king of Assyria, who by command*

𒊺𒉌 𒊏𒁀𒋾 [𒁁𒇷 𒋢]    *b.* 𒅎 𒍪 𒌋 𒈠 𒆷
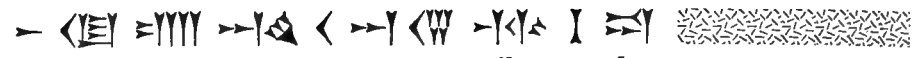
Ili      rabati   [beli   su]      im    zu -u ma- la

*of the great Gods   [his lords],      has   gratified   all*

𒇷 𒁉 𒋢 𒀉 𒋾    Am -mu   la   * * * * * * *

lib - bi su   it - ti    Am -mu   la   * * * * * * *

*his heart.    With     Ammuladin   * * * * * * **

*c.* 𒀀 𒈾 �próNinua 𒀀𒇻 𒁁𒇻 𒋾 𒅀 𒄩𒁲 *  * * * *
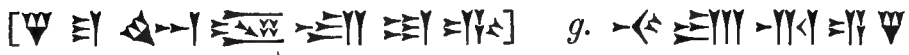
a - na    Ninua    alu belu- ti   ya   ḫa-dis * * * * *

*to    Nineveh the city of my dominion, joyfully * * * **

*d.* 𒀀 𒈾 𒆪   Assur-bani-pal ṣar   Assur   A di - ya -a

A- na -ku    Assur -bani-pal ṣar    Assur    A   di - ya -a

*I      Assurbanipal   king of Assyria,      Adiya*

𒊬-[rat        A    ri -bi]          *e.*  it - ti   ḫu - ub- ti   sa
şar -[rat      A    ri -bi]               it - ti   ḫu - ub- ti   sa
*queen       [of     Arabia]*             *with      her        spoil,*

ina  ki - bit  Assur va  Istar    ik -su- du   * * * * * *
*by command of Assur and Ishtar  I captured*   * * * * * *

*f.*  A- di - ya -a   şar - rat   A - ri - bi   di - ik - ta
     *Adiya        queen    of     Arabia,     her   numerous*

[sa ma- ha - aş - şu   ad -duk]     *g.*  zir - ta - re - e  sa
*fighting      men       I     slew,*        *her pavilions in the*
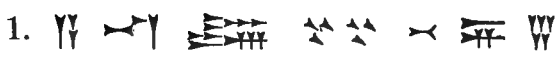
ina       isati       ak - mu  sa - a - sa   bal - [ḫu - uş - şa
*fire        I         burned,      her            alive*
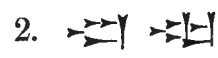
ina qati   aẓ - bat
*in hand I captured.*

(At the bottom of the tablet occurs the following notice of
the place of these Epigraphs.)

sa  ina   eli        iguri         sa  Bit - sa * * *
*which were upon the chamber-walls of Bitsa   * * **

K, 562.

1.  A - na   şar   matati be - eli   ya      2.  arad   ka
*To  the  king  of  the  earth,  my  lord,*      *thy servant*

𒁹 [cuneiform] Bel -zikir - esir
*Belzikiresir.*

3. [cuneiform] Bel va Maruduk immi
*Bel and Merodach, length*

[cuneiform] araku
*of days,*

4. [cuneiform] sanat an - na - i da - ra - a - ti
*years everlasting,*

5. [cuneiform] iz-sa-pa i - sar - tu kuzzu
*a sceptre of justice, and an*

6. [cuneiform] da - ru - u a - na
*everlasting throne, to the*

[cuneiform] sar matati
*king of the earth,*

7. [cuneiform] be-eli ya lit ki - nu
*my lord, may they establish.*

8. [cuneiform] a - na eli sa
*Concerning that of*

[cuneiform] sar be-eli a
*which the king my lord*

9. [cuneiform] de - e - mi is - kun an - ni
*gave directions to me*

10. [cuneiform] um -ma de em sa Ar - a - bi ma - la
*thus: " The news of the Arabians, all*
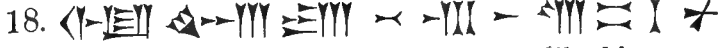
[cuneiform] ta - sim - mu - u
*thou hearest,*

12. [cuneiform] sapra a - lak - ti si - i
*send the account of it."*

13. [cuneiform] ul tu Ni - ba - ha - a - ti
*From the Nabateans*

14. [cuneiform] ki i
*there is*

[cuneiform] hir - za - a Ai - ka - ma - ru
*news ; Aikamaru*

15. [cuneiform] ablu su sa
*son of*

[cuneiform] Am -mi- ha - ta ah
*Ammihatah*

16. [cuneiform] Vas- ha ai a - na
*the Vasite,*

〔cuneiform〕 17. 〔cuneiform〕
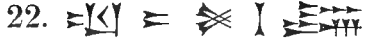
eli   su-nu     ki   i   it   bu   u   zabi   id -duk

*against*   *them*     *had*   *come;*   *the*   *men*   *he*   *slew*

18. 〔cuneiform〕 19. 〔cuneiform〕
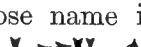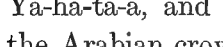
va     iḫ - ta -bat edu ina lib - bi su-nu     ki - i

*and plundered. One in the midst of· them*     *then*

〔cuneiform〕 20. 〔cuneiform〕

u - se - zi - bu     a - na   lib - bi   alu   sa   ṣar

*they saved;*     *to the midst of the city of the king*

〔cuneiform〕 21. 〔cuneiform〕

i - tur   ba     a - du - u   a - na   ṣar   be - eli   ya

*he entered.*     *Now to the king my lord*

22. 〔cuneiform〕 23. 〔cuneiform〕

al -tap-ras-su   ṣar     sa   pi   i   su   lis - me

*I send him; the king,*     *of his mouth may he hear.*

The events recorded in this division of the reign of Assurbanipal stretch over a considerable time. In Cylinder B we are told that the father of Assurbanipal had. carried off the Gods of the Arabian monarch, and that Yauteh, or Vaiteh, king of Arabia, came to Assurbanipal and asked for the restoration of these idols. A precisely similar story is related in the annals of Esarhaddon, the father of Assurbanipal; and I am of opinion that the compiler of Cylinder B transferred this account to Assurbanipal's reign.

Vaiteh, whose name is also written 〔cuneiform〕, Ya-ha-ta-a, and 〔cuneiform〕, Ya-ha-lu-u, succeeded to the Arabian crown in the time of Esarhaddon, and remained subject to Assyria until the revolt of Saulmugina, when he joined in the conspiracy, and raised two armies; one he sent into Palestine, and the other to help the Babylonians. The Arabians who invaded Palestine marched as far as Zobah; when they were defeated by the Assyrian troops and gradually driven out of the country. About

the same time an Arabian chief, Ammuladin, called king of Kedar, invaded Moab in company with Adiya queen of Arabia. Their forces were met by Kamas(?)-halta king of Moab, a tributary of Assyria, who defeated them, and sent Ammuladin and Adiya in chains to Nineveh. Vaiteh, after these reverses, fled to Nabathea, and was delivered up to Assyria, probably by Nathan king of that country, who sent an envoy to make submission to Assurbanipal. The Arabian army which was sent to Babylon, was besieged in that city by the Assyrians ; and, attempting to make a sortie, was a second time defeated and driven within the walls. Abiyateh and Aimu the Arabian generals, then submitted to Assurbanipal, and that monarch sent Abiyateh to Arabia, to take the crown as tributary of Assyria. Meanwhile, after the flight of Vaiteh, the Arabians raised to the throne his nephew, who bore the same name (Vaiteh) as himself. Vaiteh II and Abiyateh afterwards joined in alliance with Nathan king of Nabathea, and they all commenced hostilities against Assyria. To chastise them, Assurbanipal organised an expedition into Arabia. It is difficult to determine the position of the towns captured by the Assyrians in this expedition, but it is not probable that they penetrated far into the desert. Their own statement is, that they went a distance of 100 kaspu (700 English miles) from Nineveh. On the return of the army from Arabia, Assurbanipal punished the cities of Akko and Usu (on the coast of Palestine) for revolt. The dispatch, K, 562, probably belongs to a later period in the history, but it is inserted here on account of its reference to Arabia.
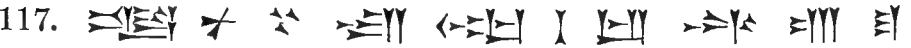
# PART XIII.

## *The Final Triumph over Elam.*

### TEXTS.
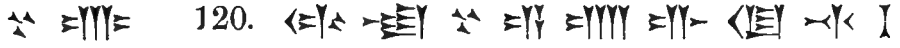
The texts of this division of the Annals are Cylinder A, col. ix, line 113, to col. x, line 21 ; and the Memorial Slab published in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 66.

### CYLINDER A, COLUMN IX.

113.  [cuneiform]
Um -man- al - das    sar        Elam
*Ummanaldas        king   of      Elam,*

114.  [cuneiform]
sa    ul - tu   ul - la  Assur va  Istar    beli    ya
*whom   from   of   old   Assur and Ishtar   my    lords*

115. [cuneiform]                         116. [cuneiform]
ig   bu -u  e - pis ardu- u - ti  ya        ina  ki - bit
*had commanded to make submission to me;        by command*

[cuneiform]
Ilu - ti   su - nu    zir - ti   sa   la   in - nin - nu .. u
*of    their   great   divinity   who   were   unchanged,*

117.  [cuneiform]
arka - nu  mat   su      eli   su   ip - pal - kit   va
*afterwards   his   country   against   him   revolted,   and*

118. [cuneiform] ] [cuneiform] ] <
la pa- an ṣaḥ -mas- ti    ardi    su sa    u - sab -su-u
*from the face of the tumult of his servants which they made*

[cuneiform] ]    119. [cuneiform]
eli su         e -dis- si  su  ip -par-sid va  iẓ - ba - ta
*against him,         alone  he  fled  and  took  to  the*

[cuneiform]    120. [cuneiform]
sadu- u         ul  tu sade- e  bit  mar - ki - ti  su
*mountain.       From the mountain, the house of his refuge,*

121. [cuneiform]    122. [cuneiform]
a - sar    it - ta -nap -ras - si - du         ki -ma
   *the       place     he      fled     to,*         *like*

[cuneiform]
ra - pa - qaq iẓẓur a - mas- su va
*a rapaqaq bird I removed, and*
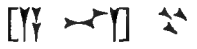

COLUMN X.

1. [cuneiform]
bal - ḍu- uṣ - [ṣu    al -qa -a] su a - na      Assur
   *alive      I      brought     him      to       Assyria.*

2. [cuneiform]
Tam-ma- ri - tu      Pa - he - e      Um -man- al - das
   *Tammaritu,            Pahe        and      Ummanaldas,*

3. [cuneiform]
sa    arku  a - ḥa- [mis]   e - pu-su be - lut      Elam
*who  after  each  other  ruled  the  dominion  of     Elam;*

4. [cuneiform]
sa  ina  e -mu- ki  Assur  va  Istar    beli    ya
*whom,  by  the  power  of  Assur  and  Ishtar     my   lords,*
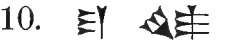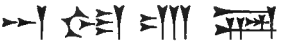
5. [cuneiform]
u - sak -ni -sa [a - na    niri]    ya    U - ai - te - eh
*I     subjugated  [to]    my   [yoke].          Vaiteh*
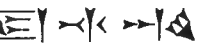
6. [cuneiform]
[ṣar    A- ri] - bi  sa  ina  ki   bit  Assur  va   Istar
*king  of   Arabia,  of whom,  by command of Assur and Ishtar,*

[cuneiform]    7. [cuneiform]
abikta   su        as - ku - nu  [ul    tu]  mati su  al   qa  su
*his overthrow  I had accomplished; [from] his country I brought him*

[cuneiform]    8. [cuneiform]
[a - na]        Assur         ul   tu   a - na   na  * * *
*[to]        Assyria.       When    to        * * **
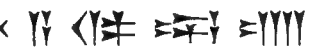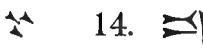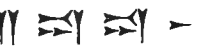
[cuneiform]    9. [cuneiform]
* *   niqi     e - lu -u   ina  Bit -mas-masu su-bat be- lu - ti
*sacrifices and libations I had offered up   in Bitmasmasu, the seat of*
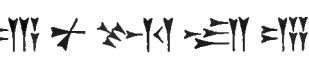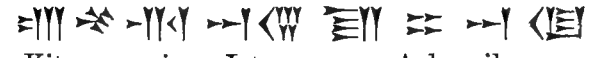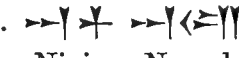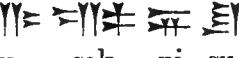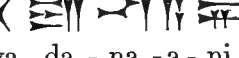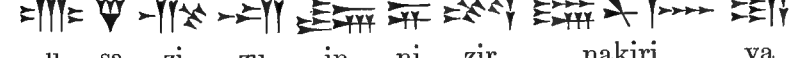
(v. [cuneiform])  I  [cuneiform]   10. [cuneiform]
(v. belu - ti)  su - uṇ              ma  ḥar      Belat    umma
*their     power,*              *before      Belat,    mother*

[cuneiform]    11. [cuneiform]
Ili      rabati           hi - ra  tu   na   ram  ti  Assur
*of the great Gods,          beloved      wife    of    Assur,*
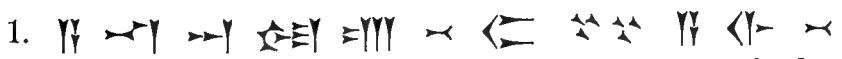
[cuneiform]    12. [cuneiform]
e  pu su [a]   di      Ili        Bit - id - ki   id
*I had made to the Gods of          Bitidkid.*

[cuneiform]    13. [cuneiform]
niri        sa sad da - di         u   sa - aẓ - bit
*To the yoke of my war chariot       I caused to fasten*

[cuneiform]    14. [cuneiform]
ṣu -nu  ti  a - di  bab  e - sir      is - du - du  ina
*them, and to the gate of the temple       they dragged. On*

15.

sitti    ya    al    bi    in    ap-pi          at-ta-hi-id
*my feet I made invocation,*          *I    glorified*

16.

Ilu-uṣ-ṣu-un    u-sa-pa-a          dan-nu-uṣ    ṣu-un
*their    divinity,    I    praised*          *their    power,*

17.

ina puḥri umman ya    sa    Assur    Sin          Samas    Vul
*in the assembly of my army; of Assur, Sin,*          *Shamas,    Vul,*

18.

Bel    Nabu    Istar    sa    Ninua          Il    ṣar-rat
*Bel,    Nebo,    Ishtar    of    Nineveh*          *the divine queen of*

19.

Kit-mu-ri    Istar    sa    Arba-il          Ninip    Nergal
*Kitmuri,    Ishtar    of    Arbela,*          *Ninip,    Nergal*

20.

Nusku    sa    la    kan-su    ti    ya          u-sak-ni-su
*and Nusku, who the unsubmissive to me,*          *subjugated*

21.

a-na    niri    ya    ina    li    i-ti          va    da-na-a-ni
*to    my    yoke,    and    in    glory*          *and    power*

u-sa-zi    zu    in-ni    zir    nakiri    ya
*established    me    over    my    enemies.*

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, VOL. II, PAGE 66.

1.

A-na          Belat    be-lit    matati    a    si-bat
*To          Beltis Goddess of the earth, dwelling in*

𒁹 ... (cuneiform)

Bit -mas-masu   Assur-bani-pal šar     Assur    rubu   pa - luḫ   sa

*Bitmasmasu, Assurbanipal king of Assyria, the prince her worshipper,*

2. ... (cuneiform) (v. bi-nu-ut) ... (v. bi) - ti

sakkanaku binut (v. bi-nu-ut) qati sa sa ina   ki -be (v. bi) - ti

*the   high   priest,   the   work   of   her   hands,   who   by   her   great*

sa   rab-tu   ina   qit - ru - ub    ta   ḫa- zi    ik    ki - ṣu

*command,    in    the    midst   of   war   had   cut   off*

(v. ... )   3. ... (cuneiform)

(v. ikkiṣu)      qaqqadu   Te- um -man šar     Elam

*the   head   of   Teumman   king of    Elam.*

va    Um -man- i -gas   Tam-ma - ri - tu    Pa - he - e

*And    Ummanigas,      Tammaritu,       Pahe,*

Um -man- al    das     4.    sa    arku    Te - um -man epusu

*and   Ummanaldas,      who    after    Teumman   ruled*

(v. ... )   (v. e -pu-su) ṣaru-ut    Elam    ina tugul- ti   sa   rab-tu

*the    kingdom    of    Elam;    in   her   great   service*

qa - ti    (v. qati) iksud   ṣu - nu - ti    va      5.   ina iz - sa

*my    hands   captured    them,    and      to   my   war*

sa - da    di   (v. sadadi) ru - du ṣaru- ti   ya aẓbat (v. aẓ -bat)

*chariot,     my    royal     carriage,     I    fastened*

ṣu -nu- ti va ina   zik - ri   sa   kab - ti   ina kul -lat matati

*them.    And   in   her   grand    might,    in    all    countries*

(v. 𒌍 𒌍)   6. 𒄭 (𒅴) 𒀭 𒂍 𒌋 𒐊 𒈨 𒇴 𒀀 𒇷 𒀀 𒁹

(v. matati)     italliku - u va gab- ri  la isu - u ina im - mi su

*I have marched, and a rival I have not.  In those days*

𒊬 (v. 𒆠 𒊬) 𒂍 𒀭 𒅖  (v. 𒀭 𒅖)  𒁁 𒅀

kisal  (v. ki - sal)  bit    Istar    (v. Istar)   belat  ya

*the altar of  the house of Ishtar*       *my  lady,*

𒊏 𒉿 𒂍 (v. 𒂊) 𒇷 𒌍 𒀭  7. 𒅆 𒆠 𒋫 �su

ina pe - e  (v. i)  li   es - ki      si - kit - ta  su

*of  marble  I   carved*      *its  sculpture;*

𒌓 𒊏𒁉 𒁉 𒀀 𒈾 sat (v. 𒊓 𒀜) 𒋾  𒁁 Belat

u - rab  bi a - na  sat  (v. sa - at) - ti   Belat

*I  set  it  up  to  please  Beltis.*

𒊬 (v. 𒆠 𒊬) 𒁹 𒅆 𒀭 𒅆 𒂍 𒅆  8. 𒊬 𒆠

kisal  (v. ki - sal) su - a - tu pan ma- sar  si    uk - ki

*That  altar  before  its  sanctuary(?)*   *I  placed.*

(v. 𒅗)  𒅀 𒀀 𒋾  (v. 𒅀 𒀀 𒋼)  𒁹 Assur - bani - pal

(v. ka)  ya - a - ti   (v. ya - a - te)   Assur - bani - pal

*To  me,*              *Assurbanipal,*

(v. 𒁹 Assur - bani - pal)  pa - lah Ilu - u - ti  ki rab - ti

(v. Assur - bani - pal)    pa - lah Ilu - u - ti  ki rab - ti

           *worshipping  thy  great  divinity,*

𒁀 𒊬 (v. 𒁁) 𒀭 𒐊 (v. 𒀭 𒐊) 𒅅 𒐊  9. 𒁕𒁮

ba - lad (v. balad) im - mi  (v. immi)  araki    dabu

*[give]  health,  long  days,  and  sound*

𒀭 𒁉 𒆠 𒁉 𒅖 �va  ittaliku  Bit - mas - masu

lib - bi  ki bi - is  va    ittaliku   Bit - mas - masu

*heart,  worshipping  and  going  to  Bitmasmasu,*

𒂍 𒀭 𒁉 𒀭 𒊬 𒐊 𒐊

lu - lab - bi - ra  sepa - ai

*may  my feet grow old.*

The principal political event mentioned in this division is the capture of Ummanaldas king of Elam. After the destruction of Shushan, Ummanaldas remained a fugitive in the mountains, while Assurbanipal held possession of the country. He ultimately fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and was sent to Nineveh, at which place Tammaritu and Pahe his rivals, and Vaiteh king of Arabia, were then in captivity. According to Cylinder A* these four captive kings were fastened to the yoke of the royal chariot, and drew Assurbanipal to the gate of the temple of Nineveh. Similar barbarous triumphs are related of other conquerors of antiquity.

I have supposed, from a fragment of an unpublished tablet, that Assurbanipal afterwards restored Ummanaldas, and that the Elamite monarch revolted, and was again conquered by Assurbanipal; but this is very doubtful.

As this division closes the campaigns of Assurbanipal, I here give a table of the later royal families of Elam, so far as we know them from the inscriptions.

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* The Memorial Slab gives the four Elamite kings, Ummanigas, Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas, as the captives who were yoked to the chariot; but Ummanigas had been dead some years, so that Cylinder A must be more correct, in giving Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas the Elamites, and Vaiteh the Arabian.

# TABLE OF THE LATER ELAMITE ROYAL FAMILIES.

UMMAN-MINAN, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 695–685.

HALLUDUS II, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 685–680.

HUMBANIGAS II, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 680–675.*

URTAKI, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 670–660.

TEUMMAN, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 660–655.

ISTARNANDI, king of Hidalu, killed cir. B.C. 655.

UMMANALDAS I, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 675–670.

PARU

KUDURRU

UMMANAMNI, grandson of Ummanaldas I.

UMMANIGAS I, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 655–650.

UMMANAPPA.

TAMMARITU, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 650–648.

TAMMARITU, king of Hidalu, cir. B.C. 655.

UMMANALDAS.

TAMRITU.

UNDASU.

UMMANALDAS.

PARA▨

UMMANAMNI.

INDABIGAS, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 648–647.

UMBADARA, a chief.

ATTAMITU, a general.

UMMANALDAS II, king of Elam, cir. B.C. 647–642.

UMMANIGAS II, pretender, cir. B.C. 645.

UMBAGUA, pretender, cir. B.C. 645.

PAHE, pretender, cir. B.C. 645.

* This Monarch is doubtful.

# PART XIV.

### The Buildings of Assurbanipal.

#### TEXTS.

The most perfect texts relating to Assurbanipal's buildings are Cylinder A, col. x, lines 31 to 110, and an Extract from col. x, Cylinder D. There are several other texts, but they are in a very mutilated condition.

### CYLINDER A, COLUMN 10.

31. 𒀸 𒁹 𒂍 𒋢 𒈬 𒆤 𒂊 𒂍 𒆗
[As]-su  Bit - rid -u - ti  tim - ne - e    e - kal   [sa
*Now      Bitriduti,     the    private(?)   palace   of*

𒌷 �próximo   32. 𒀠 𒍣 𒄿 𒊒 𒈾 𒊏 𒈹
Ninua]                [alu]  zi - i - ru  na - ram       Is -tar
*Nineveh,              the  grand  city,   the   delight  of  Ishtar;*

33. �National 𒁹 𒌍 𒀀 𒅕 𒃻 𒀸 �1 �1
      sa        Sin - ahi - irba    sar        Assur     abu abi
      *which     Sennacherib      king of Assyria, the grandfather*

𒁷 𒁹]   34. 𒂍 𒉺 𒁹 𒈨 𒊮 �LUGAL 𒋢 𒁹
bani   ya             [e - pu -su] a - na  mu- sab   saru - ti su
*my begetter            built      for     his     royal     seat;*

35. 𒂍 𒋢 𒁹 𒂊 𒁹 𒈨 𒁹 𒀀 𒁹
      [Bit   rid -u - ti]  su - a - tu  ina   immi   ya - a - ti
       *that    Bitriduti               in     my      days*

36. [𒈦𒈦𒈦𒈦] 𒈦𒈦 𒈦𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦

[la - ba - ri - is] il - lik e - na -ḫa igari su

*became old, and its chamber-walls decayed.*

37. 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 [𒈦] 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦

a - na ku Assur-bani-pal [ṣar] rab - u ṣar dan - nu

*I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king,*

38. 𒈦 𒈦 [𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦] 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦

ṣar kis - [sa - ti ṣar Assur] ṣar kip - rat

*king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four*

𒈦 𒈦 39. 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 [𒈦 𒈦 𒈦] 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦

arba - te as-su ki - rib Bit [rid -u - ti] su - a - tu

*regions, within that Bitriduti*

𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 40. 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦

ar - ba - a Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel

*grew up. Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,*
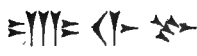
𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦

Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il - sar - rat Kit - mu - ri

*Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

41. 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦

Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku

*Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,*

42. 𒈦𒈦𒈦𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦𒈦𒈦𒈦 43. 𒈦𒈦𒈦𒈦

* * * * abil ṣar - u * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 44. 𒈦𒈦𒈦𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦 𒈦𒈦𒈦𒈦

ẓu - lul su-nu ḏabu * * * sa kal - la me * * *

*their good protection,* * * * * * * * * * * *

𒈦 𒈦 45. [𒈦 𒈦 𒈦] 𒈦 𒈦 �54 𒈦 �46 �46
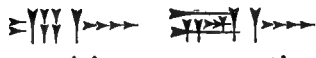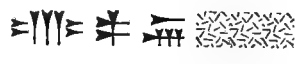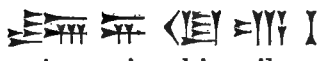
eli ya [is - ku-nu] ultu ina kuzzu abi bani ya

*over me [fixed], when on the throne of the father my begetter*
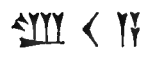
𒌋 - si - bu     46.   i - te - ni - ib - bu - su   *   *   *   *    va

*I*    *sat.*       *They*   *were*   *made(?)*   *   *   *    *and*

nisi      rapsati     47.   *   *   *   *    pu - ḫa - de - e

*many*    *people*       *   *   *   *    *   *   *   *

48.   sa   *   *   *   *   *   qa - ti   ya     49.   u - pa - ṣa   *   *

*   *   *   *   *   *my hands*       *   *   *    *   *   *

in    ni    ki - rib   su     49.   ina ma - ḫa - al   mu - si   *   *   *

*me*    *within*    *it.*      *In*    *all*    *the*    *night*   *   *   *

*   *   *   *   *   ya     50.   ina sa se   e - ri - ba nu - u   *   *

*   *   *   *   *   *my*      *in*   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *

ru - u - a     51.   mas - ta - ku su - a - tu mu - sal   *   *   *   su su

*   *   *      *that*    *mastaku*    *   *   *   *   *   *   *

(v. tu)   u   va     52.   Ili     rabati     si - mat    ṣu

*   *   *   *       *the great Gods its account(?)*   *have*

i - sim   *   *   *   damqati     53.   an - ḫu - uṣ - ṣu

*heard(?)*   *   *   *   *good,*       *its*      *decay*

*   *   *   as - su   ru - up - pu - us   (v. su)    54.   ri   *   *   *   a - na

*   *   *      *to*     *increase*       *   *   *    *the*
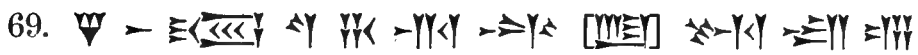
ṣi - ḫir - ti   su   aq - qur     55.   *   *   *   50     ti - ip - ki

*whole*   *of*   *it*   *I*   *destroyed.*    *   *   *Fifty*      *tipki*

mas-gan  si - kit - ti su       56. ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳  pi - ti - ig  (v. tig)
*the building its sculpture*      * * * *  *the  work*

ud- la [-a su u] -mal- li       57. la pa- an es- re - e
*of the mound I completed.*     *Before  the  temples  of*

Ili  rabati  beli  ya     58. ap- luḫ ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳ ud- la- a
*the great Gods my lords*    *I worshipped.  * * *  Of that*

su - a - tu      59. si - kit - [ti su] ul - u  sak - ki
*mound*       *its sculpture(?) I did not cut down*

[re - e - ṣu]    60. ina araḫ  dabu  im - mi se-me- e
*its  top.*    *In a good month and a prosperous day,*

(v. sime)  ẓir  ud- la [-a su -a- tu]   61. ussi su ad - di
*upon  that  mound  its*   *foundation I placed,*

u - kin lab - na [- aṣ  ṣu]   62. ina bi ris  va
*I fixed  its  brickwork.*   *In  biris  and*

ka - mis  pi  su  ab ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳   63. am - ḫa - za
*kamis  its  face  I  * * * **   *I divided*

sal- su ✳ ✳ ✳ ✳   64. ina  ẓu - um -bi- i  Elam
*in three(?) * * **    *in  chariots  of  Elam,*

65. sa ina ki - bit  Ili  rabati  beli  ya
*which by command of the great Gods my lords*

66. 𒀸 𒇽 𒂖 𒐊 𒀀 𒈾 𒂊 𒉈 𒂍 𒊑 𒌑 𒋾 𒋢 𒀀 𒌇
as - lu - la   a - na   e - pis   Bit - ridu - u - ti   su - a - tu
*I    carried    off;    to    make    that    Bitriduti,*
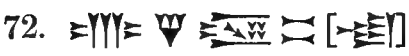
67. 𒉌 𒅆 𒎎 𒐊 𒀸 𒄖 𒁉 𒂍 𒊂 𒌋 𒋾 𒋢
nisi   mati ya  ina lib - bi  i - zab - bi - tu   libni   su
*the people of my country in the midst, took its bricks.*

68. 𒈗 𒀀 𒊑 𒄫 𒃻 𒀸 𒀀 𒁲 𒅀 𒄴 𒁺 𒌋
ṣarri        A - ri - bi   sa ina a - di - ya   iḫ   du - u
*The  kings  of Arabia who against my agreement sinned*
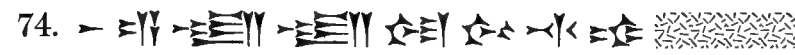
69. 𒊭 𒀸 𒄣 𒁉 𒋰 𒄩 𒊑 𒁄 [𒄭] 𒍑 𒋗 𒌦
sa ina qabal tam - ha - ri   bal - [ḍu] - uṣ   ṣu - un
*whom    in    the    midst    of    battle    alive    I    had*
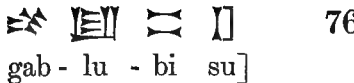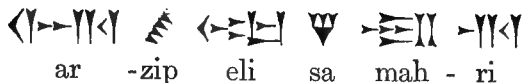
𒌋 𒍝 𒁉 𒌇 [𒀸 𒃼]      70. 𒐊 𒂖 𒐊 𒂖
u - ẓab - bi - tu   [ina qati]              a - na - e - pis
*captured    [in    hand],*                    *to    make*

𒂍 𒊑 𒌑 𒋾 𒋢 𒀀 𒌇      71. 𒄑 𒍣 𒇽 𒈲 𒋝 𒆪
Bit - ridu - u - ti   su - a - tu              iz - al - lu   mus - sik - ku
*that    Bitriduti*                          *heavy    burdens*
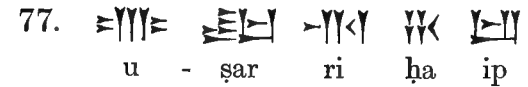
[𒌋 𒊠 𒀸 𒋛 𒋗 �well 𒀀] 72. 𒌋 𒊠 𒊍 𒁉 [𒌇]
[u - sa - as - si su - nu - ti va]          u - sa - aẓ - bi - [tu]
*[I caused them to carry, and]*              *I caused them to take*

⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮    73. �béb 𒐊 𒇽 𒌇 ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮
* * * *      la - bi - in      libni   su * * * *
* * * *      *building    its    brickwork* * * *
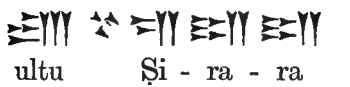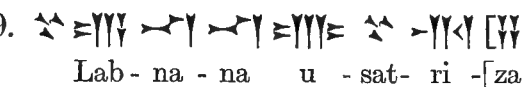
74. 𒀸 𒂍 𒇷 𒇷 𒊩 𒄖 𒋾 𒌒 ⋮⋮⋮ 75. 
ina e - li - li   nin - gu - ti ub * * *                ina
*with   dancing(?)  and    music     * * *              with*

𒐊 𒄭 𒁕 𒊑 𒊭 𒀀 𒋾 𒌌 𒌇 [𒍑 𒋢 𒀀 𒁲]
ḫidati       ri - sa - a   ti   ul - tu   [ussi su a - di
*joy    and    shouting,    from    [its    foundation    to*
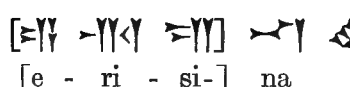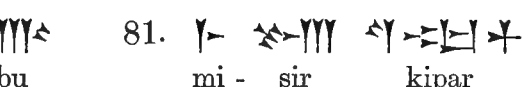
gab - lu - bi  su]
*its  roof*]

76. ar -zip  eli  sa  maḥ - ri
*I built.  More  than  before*

su  * * * * * *
* * * * * *
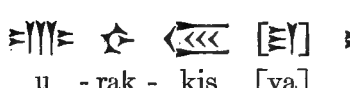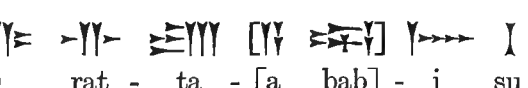
77. u - ṣar  ri  ḥa  ip
*I  extended*

* * * *
* * * *
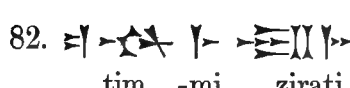
78. gusuri  erini  ẓirati
*beams  and  great  planks*
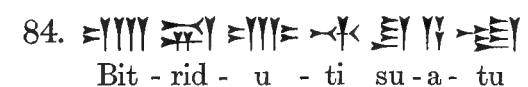
ultu  Ṣi - ra - ra
*from  Sirara*

79. Lab - na - na  u - sat- ri -[za
*and  Lebanon,  I  fixed*
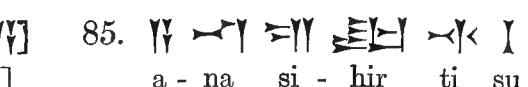
e]  li  su
*over  it.*

80. dalti  li - ya- a - ri  sa
*Doors  of  forest  trees,*

[e - ri - ṣi-]  na  ḍabu
*their  wood  excellent,*

81. mi - ṣir  kipar
*a covering of copper*

u - rak - kis  [va]  u  rat - ta -[a  bab]- i  su
*I  spread  over,  and  hung  in  its  gates.*

82. tim -mi  ẓirati  eru  * * * *
*Great  columns of  bronze  * * * ***

83. ḥi - it - ti
*at the sides*

babi  * * * * *
*of the gates * * * * ***

84. Bit - rid - u - ti  su-a- tu
*That  Bitriduti,*

mu - sab  [ṣaru  ti  ya]
*my  royal  seat,*

85. a - na  ṣi - ḥir  ti  su
*the  whole  of  it  I*

2 S

𒐵𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊 𒐊𒐊 𒐊   86. 𒐵𒐊 𒐊 (v. 𒐊 𒐊) 𒐊
u - sak - lil   lu - le - e      u - mal (v. ma - al) - li
*finished,*     *entirely*     *I*     *completed.*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   87. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
kiri puluq    sa ṣa - ṣa - ḫi * * a - na   mul - ta - u - ti
*Plantations choice,*   * * * * * *   *for*   *the*   *glory*   *of*

88. 𒐊 𒐊 [𒐊] 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
ṣaru - ti   [ya]   az - qu - pa   i - ta - a - te - e - su
*my*    *kingdom*    *I*    *planted*    *like*    *walls.*

(v. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊)   89. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
(v. i - ta - a - te - es)    * *   niqi   ur - ri - iḫ - ti
                  *Sacrifices and libations*    *precious*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   90. 𒐊 𒐊
aq - qa - a a - na   Ili   beli   ya     ina   ḫidati
*I poured out to the Gods my lords.*    *With joy and*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   91. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
ri - sa - a - ti   u - sar - ri   su     e - ru - ub   ki - rib
*shouting*   *I*   *completed*   *it,*     *I*   *entered*   *into*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   92. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 (v. 𒐊)
su ina za - rat   tak - ne - e     a - na   arku im - mi (v. immi)
*it in a state palaquin(?).*    *To*   *after*   *days,*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   93. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
ina   ṣarri   abli   ya     sa Assur va Istar a - na
*among the kings my sons,*   *whomever Assur and Ishtar to the*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   94. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
be - lut mati   va    nisi      i - nam - bu - u
*dominion of the country and people*     *shall*    *proclaim*

𒐊 𒐊 𒐊   95. 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊 𒐊
zi - kir su     e - nu va Bit - ridu - u - ti   su - a - tu
*his name;*     *when*   *this*   *Bitriduti*   *becomes*

i-lab-bi- ru (-u) va    96. in - na - ḫu an-ḫu- uš ṣu
*old*     *and*     *decays,*   *its*   *decay*   *he*

97. lu -ud-dis    mu- ṣar - u   ṣi - ḍir sumi ya abi ya
*shall repair,*    *the inscription written of my name my father's and*

abu abi ya    98. ziru da - ru - u   sa   * * * *
*my grandfather's,*    *the remote descendant who*   * * * *

le (-e)- mur va    99. kiṣal lab-su- us * * niqi   akki
*shall see, and an altar shall raise, sacrifice and libations shall pour out,*

100. it - ti mu- ṣar - e   ṣi - ḍir sumi su lis- kun
*and with the inscription written of his name shall place;*
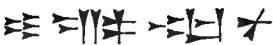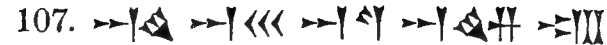
101. Ili   rabati ma- la mu- ṣar - e an-ne- e saḍ- ru
*the great Gods all in this inscription named,*

102. ki - ma (v. kima) ya - a - ti va lis   ru - ku- us
*like me also, shall establish to him*

103. da - na - nu   va   li - i - tu    104. sa
*power and glory. Whoever*

mu- ṣar - u   ṣi - ḍir sumi ya    105. abi ya abu abi ya
*the inscription written of my name, my father's and my grandfather's,*
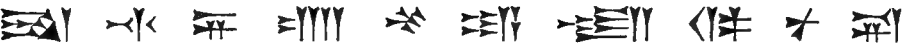
ib - ba - tu    106. it - ti mu- ṣar - i su la
*destroys,*    *and with his inscription does not*

𒀀 𒈾�… 𒃷… 　107.　Assur　Sin　Samas　Vul　Bel
i - sak - ka -nu
*place,*　　　　　　　　*Assur,　Sin,　Shamas,　Vul,　Bel,*
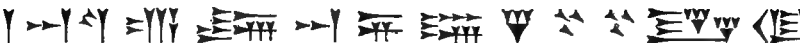
Nabu　　108.　Istar　sa　Ninua　Il　ṣar - rat
*Nabu,*　　　　　*Ishtar　of　Nineveh　the　divine　queen of*

Kit -mu- ri　　109.　Istar　sa　Arba - il　Ninip
*Kitmuri,*　　　　　　*Ishtar　of　Arbela,　　Ninip,*

Nergal　　Nusku　　110.　de - e - nu　(v. ni)
*Nergal　and　Nusku,*　　　　*a　judgment*

it - ti　ni　bit　sumi　ya　li - di -nu - us
*equal　to　the　renown　of　my　name,　may　they　pass　on　him.*

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111.　Arah　Nisannu　immi 1　　112.　lim - mu
*Month　Nisan,　　1st day,*　　　　　　*eponym*

Samas- da　in - an - ni　　sa -nat　Akkadi
*Shamasdainani　　　　prefect　of　Akkad.*

・　・　・

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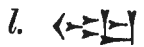
*a.*　　Arah　Ululu　immi　28　　　*b.*　lim - mi
*Month　Elul,　28th day,*　　　　　　　*eponym*

Samas- da - in - a - ni　　sanat　Bab - ili
*Shamasdainani　　　prefect of　Babylon.*

### FRAGMENT OF COLUMN X, CYLINDER D. ON THE REPAIR
### OF THE WALL OF NINEVEH.

*a.* [cuneiform]
Ina im - mi su va dur qabal alu sa Ninua
*In those days, the wall round the city of Nineveh,*

*b.* [cuneiform]
sa Sin - aḥi - irba ṣar Assur abu abi bani ya
*which Sennacherib king of Assyria the grandfather begetting me,*

[cuneiform]
e - pu - su
*had made;*

*c.* [cuneiform]
sa ina zunni daḥ - du - u ti ra - a - di
*which by copious rains and swelling*

[cuneiform]
gab - su - u - ti
*floods,*

*d.* [cuneiform]
sa san - ti sam - ma ina pal - ya
*which every year in my time,*

[cuneiform]
Vul u - mad - ḍi - ra ina mati ya
*Vul poured down on my country;*

*e.* [cuneiform]
[tim - mi] - in
*its foundation*

[cuneiform]
su ir * * ub va i - qu - pa ri - sa - a su
*had decayed and its top fallen in*

*f.* [cuneiform]
* * * *
* * * *

[cuneiform]
la - ba ris illiku * * * su
*old it had become * * * ** 

*g.* [cuneiform]
[tim - me - en] ad - ki
*[the foundation] I put*

[cuneiform]
ak * * *
*together * **

*h.* [cuneiform]
* * * * * i tim - me - en [su
*its foundation I*

[cuneiform]
u] - dan - nin
*strengthened,*

*i.* [cuneiform]
[tim - me] - en dur su - a - tu * * *
*the foundation of that wall * * ·**

*j.* 〔cuneiform〕 〔cuneiform〕 〔cuneiform〕
\* \* \* sad-du \* \* \*
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

*k.* [〔cuneiform〕]
[ul - tu   ussi su a- di]
*from   its   foundation*

〔cuneiform〕
gab - lu - be - e su    ar  -zip  u - sak - lil
*to   its   summit   I   built,   I   completed.*

*l.* 〔cuneiform〕
eli
*Beyond*
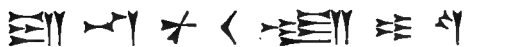
〔cuneiform〕
im - mi pa - ni   u - dan - nin   tim -me - en su
*the former days I strengthened its foundation,*

*m.* 〔cuneiform〕
mu - ṣar - u
*an inscription*

〔cuneiform〕
si - ḍir  sumi ya va  ta - us - ti  qar - ra - du - ti  ya
*written  of  my  name and  an   account  of  my  victories,*

*n.* 〔cuneiform〕
sa  ina  tu - gul - ti  Assur   Sin   Samas   Bel   Nabu
*by which in the service of Assur,   Sin,   Shamas,   Bel,   Nabu,*

*o.* 〔cuneiform〕
Istar      sa      Ninua      Istar      sa      Arba- il  Ninip
*Ishtar     of     Nineveh,    Ishtar     of     Arbela,   Ninip,*

〔cuneiform〕
Nusku     Nergal
*Nusku and Nergal,*

*p.* 〔cuneiform〕
ina matati at - tal - la - ku as - ku - nu
*in the countries I had marched through I had*

〔cuneiform〕
da - na - nu va     li - i - tu
*established power and glory;*

*q.* 〔cuneiform〕
as - ḍur  va  a - na
*I   wrote,  and   to*

〔cuneiform〕 &c.
aḥ - rat  im - mi  e - zib, &c.
*after   days   I   left,   &c.*

Bitriduti, which was probably a name for the harem of the king,
is the northern palace at Kouyunjik, from which the fragments of

Cylinder A and its duplicates were brought. Unfortunately all the texts relating to the buildings of Assurbanipal are very mutilated, and most of them are not worth publishing. Besides those given here, the two principal texts are—the first column of Cylinder C, published in a mutilated form in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. III, page 27 (since the publication of these fragments, I have completed a considerable part of the text from duplicates); and the last part of K, 2675, which gives the rebuilding of the temple of the moon at Harrau.

# PART XV.

*Later Notices of his Reign, and Sketch of the Chronology.*

The later notices of the reign of Assurbanipal are few—they are confined to some references on the later Eponym Tablets, passages on 48.7–20.119 and 48.11–4.282, and the Genealogies in the Inscriptions of his son Assur-ebil-ili-(kainni). One of the latter inscriptions is published in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. I, p. 8, No. 3, and another in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. III, p. 16, No. 2.

Only one historical point of any importance results from these fragmentary notices. It appears from 48.11–4.282, that the Assyrians still retained possession of Babylonia after the death of Assurbanipal. The chronology of the reign of Assurbanipal is imperfect, from two causes—first, the fragmentary state of that part of the eponym canon which refers to this reign ; and second, because the arrangement of the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal appears to be geographical rather than chronological. The eponym canon, which is perfect from the reign of Tugulti Ninip II to the third eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, there breaks off, and there is more or less uncertainty about all the names and fragments below this date.

The fragments of the eponym canon belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal, are as follows :—

*a.* Part of Canon 1 (restored), the dates attached to these names are satisfactorily established—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 𒁹 … | Marlarmi, | B.C. 668. |
| 𒁹 … | Gabbaru, | ,, 667. |
| 𒁹 … | Debitai | ,, 666. |

*b.* Part of Canon I (restored). The position and dates of these eponymes are uncertain; there were probably two names between *a* and *b :—*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 𒀭 𒈗 𒃻, | Bel-nahid, | B.C. | 663(?) |
| 𒀭 𒊓 𒊬 𒊭, | Dabu-sar-sin, | ,, | 662(?) |
| 𒀭 𒌈 𒈨 𒀭 𒉺 𒉺, | Arbailai, | ,, | 661(?) |
| 𒀭 𒄑 𒌋 𒁀 𒈾, | Girzabuna, | ,, | 660(?) |
| 𒀭 𒁶 𒀸 𒋩, | Silim-assur, | ,, | 659(?) |

*c.* Part of Canon III, which I should judge to extend from B.C. 657 to 648 :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 𒀭 𒈾 𒁍 𒋢 𒀭, | Sa-nabu-su, | B.C. | 657(?) |
| 𒀭 𒆷 𒁀 𒉌, | Labasi, | ,, | 656(?) |
| 𒀭 𒈪 �ak 𒊒, | Milki-ramu, | ,, | 655(?) |
| 𒀭 𒄠 𒉺 𒉚, | Amyanu, | ,, | 654(?) |
| 𒀭 𒊹 𒉌 𒌑, | Assur-nazir, | ,, | 653(?) |
| 𒀭 𒊹 𒀭 𒉺 𒉺, | Assur-ilai, | ,, | 652(?) |
| 𒀭 𒊹 𒁺 𒌋, | Assur-dur-uzur, | ,, | 651(?) |
| 𒀭 𒊕 𒈜 𒊒, | Sagabbu, | ,, | 650(?) |
| 𒀭 𒁁 𒄯 𒊓 𒌌, | Bel-harran-sadua, | ,, | 649(?) |
| 𒀭 𒋀 𒀀 𒀭 𒉺 𒉺, | Ahi-ilai, | ,, | 648(?) |

With Ahi-ilai ends Canon III, and although we have more than twenty names of later eponymes, we have no means at present of arranging them in chronological order. The eponym in whose year of office Cylinder B was written probably comes next, the name is 𒀭 𒁁 𒋗, Bel-sunu, B.C. 647(?); and the governor of Samaria, 𒀭 𒉜 𒋛 𒋀 𒁀, Nabu-sar-ahi-su, probably succeeded in B.C. 646. The eponymy of Samas-dain-ani, in which Cylinder A is dated, was probably about B.C. 640, but we cannot even conjecture the dates of the others.

Samaria in the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon was still ruled by kings, and the fact of an Assyrian governor and eponym

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ruling at Samaria cir. B.C. 646, shows that in the interval, Samaria had been incorporated into the Assyrian empire, instead of being only under tribute.
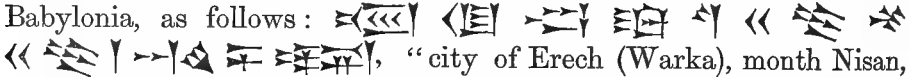
It seems on consideration of the foregoing campaigns, that the arrangement of the narratives is rather geographical than historical; but, as we have no other guide, we must assume that the principal events happened in something like the order in which we find them recorded.  The first campaign, which was directed against Tirhakah, must have taken place at or near the commencement of Assurbanipal's reign, about B.C. 668 or 667; but we have no means of fixing the date of the second expedition, which was directed against Urdamane.  The third campaign, directed against Tyre, is still more doubtful, and we have no knowledge of the length of time the city was besieged.  I am even inclined to think that the investment of the city was commenced by Esarhaddon when he started on his Egyptian expedition, and that the city was besieged for some years.  My reasons for this opinion are founded on a fragment at the British Museum, which I think belongs to Esarhaddon, and which states that the city of Tyre was besieged on the tenth expedition of the king; it afterwards mentions that he went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or Upper Egypt).  On the other hand, some of the events mentioned under the third expedition in Cylinder A (the revolt of Psammitichus, death of Gyges, and submission of Ardys), which are not in the earlier copies (Cylinders B and C), evidently belong to a much later period in the history.  These events are out of place attached to the third campaign, because in the next campaign (the fourth expedition of Cylinder B) the conquered people were transported to Egypt, which shows that Psammitichus had not yet revolted.  We have no clue to the dates of the other expeditions, until we come to the revolt of Saulmugina.  According to the dated tablets this rebellion commenced in the eponymy of Assurduruzur, and continued during the eponymies of his two successors, Sagab and Bilharransadua.  We have no positive evidence of the date of the close of the revolt, but it was probably crushed in the eponymy of Ahiilai.  Now these four eponymes are the last names in Canon III, and probably extended from B.C. 651 to 648.
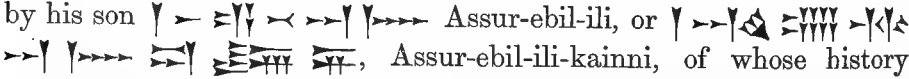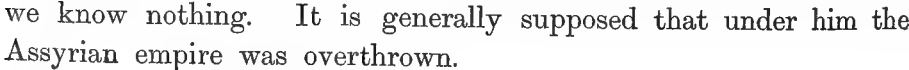
It is evident that Assurbanipal reigned for some years after the last events mentioned in his annals, but the history of this period is unknown. One of the most important points connected with the latter part of his reign is the question of the government of Babylonia. Ptolemy's Canon gives after Saosduchin or Saulmugina, Ἰσινιλαδάνου or Κινηλαδάνου, with a reign of twenty-two years. These forms are corruptions of some Assyrian name, and several conjectures have been hazarded as to their origin, but it has not hitherto been discovered, and I was in ignorance of it myself until this sheet was in the press. I now find from the tablet ·K, 195, that this was a name of Assurbanipal. I have long known that the later Assyrian monarchs sometimes bore two names, one instance of this custom is printed in Cuneif. Inscrip. Vol. III, p. 16, where we have 𒁹 𒀭 𒌷𒊮 𒆪 𒉺𒇷, Assur-ebil-mukin-pal, the second name of Esarhaddon ; the tablet was inscribed in the reign of Sennacherib (the father of Esarhaddon), who writes as follows : " To Assur-aḥ-iddina (Esarhaddon) my son, whom afterwards Assur-ebil-mukin-pal by name I called." Another instance is the name 𒁹 𒂗 𒈬 𒅆𒉾, Bel-sum-iskun, or Bel-zikir-iskun ; this is the second name of another late Assyrian king, either Shalmaneser or Sargon, probably the latter. In an enumeration of Assyrian monarchs Bel-zikir-iskun comes between Tiglath Pileser and Sen-nacherib. This custom of having two names may account for two facts, the absence of the name of Pul in our present Assyrian inscriptions, and the name of Sennacherib in Canon III, which is Assur-aḥi-iriba instead of Sin-ahi-iriba.

K, 195, gives another illustration of this practice, as it records the other name of Assurbanipal, which is 𒁹 𒌍 𒈾 𒉿 𒉺𒇷 (v. 𒈫), Sin-inadina-pal (v. pal). I have already given inscriptions (pp. 4 to 13) which state that Esarhaddon associated his son Assurbanipal with himself on the throne ; in accordance with that fact there are several tablets of the reign of Esarhaddon in which Assurbanipal's name is joined with his own in adoration to the deity Shamas. On most of these tablets the name of Assurbanipal is written as usual, but on one of them (K, 195) the name is twice given Sininadinapal ; and it is easy to see that the first part of this name, Sininadina, is the origin of Isiniladanus, the only material change

being the alteration of the Assyrian *n* into the Greek *l*, a change which has been made likewise in several Babylonian names; thus the Greeks often turned the name of the god Nabu into Labo or Laby, (as in Nabonidus or Labynetus).

The following is a translation of an extract from Esarhaddon's tablet (K, 195): "Sin-inadina-pal son of Assur-aḥ-iddina, king of Assyria, whose name on this tablet is inscribed, to the Government in the earth, in the presence of thy great divinity Shamas great lord, he is proclaimed and established." The statement here that Sininadina-pal was proclaimed to the government shows him to be the same as Assurbanipal whom Esarhaddon joined with himself in the government. If Sininadinapal be the same as Assurbanipal king of Assyria, and the Isiniladanus king of Babylon of Ptolemy, then we ought to find inscriptions of Assurbanipal claiming the crown of Babylon; and accordingly we have on K, 3079, the mutilated titles of Assurbanipal as king of Babylonia; the translation is as follows: "Assurbanipal, the great king, king of nations, king of Assyria [king of] the four [regions], [high priest of Bab]-ili (Babylon), [king of Sumir and] Akkad (Upper and Lower Babylonia), [son of Assur]-ahi-iddina, [king of nations, king] of Assyria, [son of Sin]-ahi-iriba, [king of nations, king] of Assyria." The same text probably formed the heading of Cylinder C. We have beside a regnal date of Assurbanipal on a contract tablet from the city of Warka in Babylonia, as follows: ⧉⧉⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉, "city of Erech (Warka), month Nisan, 20th day, 20th year of Assurbanipal."

The fact that Samas-dain-ani, prefect of Babylon, took his turn as eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, also goes to prove the same point. The identification of Assurbanipal with the Kineladanus or Isiniladanus of Ptolemy shows us that Assurbanipal reigned forty-two years, and died in the year B.C. 626, when he was succeeded by his son ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ Assur-ebil-ili, or ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉ ⧉, Assur-ebil-ili-kainni, of whose history we know nothing. It is generally supposed that under him the Assyrian empire was overthrown.

# NOTES, ADDITIONS, AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE

2.　The name of Assurbanipal.

> I have overlooked one form of the name of Assurbanipal, namely,
> 𒀭𒁹𒌋𒌋 ... . This is found in the
> Akkad or Turanian version of a bilingual tablet (K, 4933). This text is instructive,
> as it was evidently composed in the time of Assurbanipal, and shows that the
> Akkad form of writing was used for the composition of texts as late as the
> middle of the 7th century B.C.

„　𒂍𒍣 𒆳 ... , Bit-riduti.
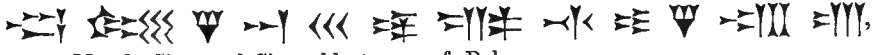
> The first character in this name signifies "house," the second "phallus;"
> it probably meant "the harem." The first character 𒂍𒍣 was very likely
> sounded E, as in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 2, No. ccclxiv, and the whole
> name E-riduti. It was probably the palace of Evorita, in which the last king
> of Nineveh burnt himself.

4.　Cylinder A, col. i, line 12, &c.

> In this passage and several other places we have allusion to the Assyrian
> calendar and feasts. I have put together at the Museum a series of tablets (at
> present unpublished), giving a complete calendar, and in illustration of these
> passages, I will give a sketch of it. First, each month had a presiding deity
> or deities; these were:—

... , Month Nisan of Anu and Bel.

... , Month Iyyar of Hea, lord of mankind.

... , Month Sivan of Sin, eldest son of Bel.

... , Month Tammuz of the warrior Ninip.

... , Month Ab of the mistress * * * *

... , Month Elul of Ishtar, mistress * * * *

𒀭𒆠𒌋𒌋𒈬𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋𒈬, Month Tisri of Shamas, warrior of the universe.

𒀭𒆠𒌋𒁀𒈬𒌋𒌋𒌋𒈬𒌋𒌋𒀭, Month Marchesvan of the ruler of all the Gods, Merodach.

𒀭𒆠𒌋𒁀𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, Month Kislev of the great warrior Nergal.

𒀭𒆠𒌋𒁀𒈬𒌋𒌋𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, Month Tebet of Papsukul, attendant of Anu and Ishtar.

𒀭𒆠𒌋𒁀𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, Month Sebat of Vul, leader of heaven and earth.

𒀭𒆠𒌋𒁀𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, Month Adar of the seven great Gods.

𒀭𒆠𒌋𒁀𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, Month Veadar of Assur, father of the Gods.

Each day of the month was a festival to a particular deity or deities, and this succession of festivals was the same in each month, so that a list of the daily festivals of one month answers for all the months of the year; these festivals are as follows (I have only transcribed the names of the festivals) :—

𒀭𒁹 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 1st day of Anu and Bel.

𒀭𒈫 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 2nd day of the Goddesses.

𒀭𒐈 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 3rd day *nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

𒀭𒐉 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 4th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

𒀭𒐊 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 5th day of Bel-esir and Belat-esir.

𒀭𒐋 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 6th day of Vul and Sala.

𒀭𒐌 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 7th day *nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

𒀭𒐍 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 8th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

𒀭𒐎 𒆠𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬𒌋𒈬, 9th day of Ninip and Gula.

〈cuneiform〉, 10th day of Belat-esir va Dayan.

〈cuneiform〉, 11th day *sa-lam-man-ni-ti* of Urmit and Zirpanit.

〈cuneiform〉, 12th day *se-sa* of Bel and Beltis.

〈cuneiform〉, 13th day of Sin the great God.

〈cuneiform〉, 14th day of Beltis and Nergal.

〈cuneiform〉, 15th day of the lady of Bit-anna, *kak-sa-rit* of Sin the great God.

〈cuneiform〉, 16th day *nu-be-tu* of (Merodach and) Zirpanit.

〈cuneiform〉, 17th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

〈cuneiform〉, 18th day *sar* of the Moon and Sun.

〈cuneiform〉, 19th day *ib-bu-u* of Gula.

〈cuneiform〉, 20th day *zab-se-sa* of the Moon and Sun.

〈cuneiform〉, 21st day *kak-sa-rit* of the Moon and Sun.

〈cuneiform〉, 22nd day *kak-sa-rit* of the Moon and Sun, *sar* of Belat-ekal.

〈cuneiform〉, 23rd day *sar* of Shamas and Vul.

〈cuneiform〉, 24th day of Bel-ekal and Belat-ekal.

〈cuneiform〉, 25th day *sa-da-ḫu* of Bel and the lady of Babylon.

〈cuneiform〉, 26th day *ru-un-zun* of Hea the great God.

𒀭 𒐏 𒌗 𒁹 𒌋 𒌋 𒅆 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒁹 𒆧,

27th day *mi-lab-ta* of Nergal, *sar* of Uk(?).

𒀭 𒐏 𒌗 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒌋 𒀭 𒌋 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋,

28th day of Hea *bunnu* of Nergal.

𒀭 𒐏 𒌗 𒀭 𒌋 𒌋 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒀭 𒁹 𒌋𒌋 𒁹
𒌋 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒁹 𒅆𒌋𒌋 𒌋 𒌋 𒅆, 29th day *bunnu*

of Sin, day angels and spirits are invoked.

𒀭 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒅆𒌋𒌋, 30th day of Anu and Bel.

Each day was also 𒀭 𒌋 a lucky day, or 𒀭 𒌋 𒌋 an unlucky day; and the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days were called 𒀭 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋,
which is explained in a bilingual fragment as 𒅆 𒌋 "su-lū" or "su-lum,"
Hebrew שַׁלְוָה and שָׁלוֹם, meaning "rest." The calendar contains lists of works forbidden to be done on these days, which evidently correspond to the sabbaths of the Jews. The 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month, correspond with the four quarters of the moon in the lunar calendar, and, like the Jewish sabbaths, occurred after intervals of six days; but I cannot find any reason why the 19th day of the month was also a day of rest.

PAGE

5, line 15. "Kitmuri" was the name of the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh; on K, 11, there is the variant reading 𒅆𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒌋 𒌋𒌋, Bit-kidimuri.

,, line 20. Read "arka-nu" for "arku-nu."

,, line 24. Restoration doubtful.

7, line 39. I-na-ru, "they destroyed."

,, line 40. Na-ram, "the delight."

,, line 35. 𒌋𒌋 𒅆𒌋𒌋, kibit, "will" or "command."

Mr. Norris, in Dict. p. 527, makes this word "honour," or "glory," and allies it with "kabtu" and "kabittu;" but "kibit" in the bilingual texts is the equivalent of the Akkad 𒌋𒌋 𒅆𒌋𒌋 "to speak." It is always to be distinguished from kabtu and its allied words by the first vowel, which is "i" in kibit, and "a" in kabtu. Kibit comes from gabu, "to speak."

,, line 38. 𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒌋, esreti, "temples."
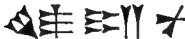
The singular form of this word I now believe to be 𒅆𒌋𒌋 𒌋, "esir," which I have always translated "temple."

8, lines 46 to 48. Very difficult passage.

It evidently indicates a year of plenty, when Assurbanipal came to the throne; I would suggest as a better reading, "fivefold (v. fourfold) the seed was fruitful in its growing, ears three times the size, the crops were excellent, the corn abundant, my mouth relates it, the growing of fruit."

9, line 5. 𒌋𒌋 𒅆𒌋𒌋, the reading 𒌋𒌋 𒅆𒌋 𒌋 "ka-ra-si" is given on some unpublished bilingual fragments; it might have been inferred from a comparison of Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. I, p. 42, line 28, and p. 46, line 52.

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9, line 6. ⸗ means a "general" or "superior officer."

I have been in doubt as to the phonetic reading, and have given it in different places "sutsaki" and "ummati," perhaps both wrong. ⸗, "sak," means an "officer," and ⸗, "su-par," means "top or over," so that the reading may be "supar-saki," "one over the officers."

17, line 69. ⸗, "murranu" or "harranu," a "march" or "road."

I have uniformly given the sound "murranu" to this word, but the town bearing this name was certainly "Harran," and the examples given by Mr. Norris, Dict. p. 445, are in favour of "har" for the first character.

19, line 87. ⸗, doubtful word. ⸗, which I have here translated "advance," probably means "fear."

„ line 88. Doubtful passage. See p. 180, line 110.

23, line 117. Read "mas-gan-i" for "mas-gar-i." Heb. מִשְׁכָּן.

„ line 124. "Ina a-di-ya ih-du-u," "against my agreement sinned."

24, line 1. ⸗.

I have given the form "seme" as the rendering; it is more probably "semat," as ⸗ prefixed to a root appears to indicate a form ending in a servile "t."

„ line 6. "Mi-i-nu," "are numbered."

27, line 36. The following would be a better translation of this passage: "an agreement stronger than before I caused to restore, and with him I made."

28, line 38. ⸗ means "feet," but the phonetic value is uncertain; my reading, "sanguti," was founded on a passage in Cuneif. Inscr., Vol III, p. 15, col. i, but I now think "sitti" the correct reading.

„ line 39. "Gir parzil sibbi" indicates a "straight sword," and not a "scimitar."

„ line 47. I doubt if "Nebosezibani" was son of "Necho," but cannot suggest any other reading.

29, line 52. ⸗ must here mean a "region" or "place." See a parallel passage in Layard's Insc., p. 95, line 152.

34, line 9. Si-ḫir-ti.

This word is from the same root as paḥir, the p and ṣ frequently interchanging in Assyrian.

35, line 16. ⸗.

This passage occurs several times, and I have been very uncertain as to its meaning, principally from not knowing which of the phonetic values of ⸗ ought to be adopted here. ⸗ sometimes reads "mat-ti," "of a country," and at times "san-ti," "of a year" or "yearly." My latest opinion on this subject I have given in p. 317, line .d.

37, line 9. Substitute 𒀀 for 𒀀 in "yapi;" this word is found in three forms, "yati," "yapi," and "yasi."

38, line 11. Read "ṣi" for "si" in al-si-ma; it is doubtful if the "ma" belongs to this word.

40, line 24. Buṣṣurat; see Heb. בשר.

„ line 28. "Ḫul-lu-uq," "to cut off."

42, line 34. Substitute "ṣun" for "sun."

„ line 37. Substitute 𒂍 for 𒂍 in "i-na-kit-u."

45, line 55. 𒈠, "ṣimat," appears to mean anything fabricated; the root is סמן.

54, line 75. 𒌋𒌋 𒌋.
    Certainly denotes a female, and is equated with 𒊩, but I have no faith in the value "sin-nis," which I have here adopted.

59. The passage in the addition to line 88, "their mouth drank," is literally "to their mouth it drank."

„ line 89. Substitute 𒈾 for 𒈾, in "nap-sat," and read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."

61, line 105. "Dazati." In a bilingual list I find 𒂍𒅖 𒐉 𒐉 𒈠 as an equivalent of 𒄑 𒀭, "zalti," "battle" or "fight." I had not noticed this when I translated it "depredations."

„ line 110. Substitute 𒁹 for 𒁹 at beginning of line.

63, line 125. Read "ḫa" for "ha" in ha-dis.

67, line 38. Pa-an.
    This word, meaning "front" and "before," is often used for "time past."

73, line 4. The passage in brackets has been partially erased by the writer of the inscription.

76, line 28. "Sitkunu subtu," "was situated the seat."

„ line 31. 𒂍𒅖 on a bilingual tablet is equated to 𒌋 𒀭, "sa-rad;" it is used for "paint," but in this place perhaps means "dyed garments," Heb. שרד.

86, line 66. Read "ṣuqi" for "tarzi."

87, line 68. Substitute 𒊓 for 𒊓.

„ line 74. "Ubna," meaning very doubtful.

92, line 49. Read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."

103, line 49. The word "ḫarran," "road," in most similar cases follows "aẓbat;" perhaps it is accidentally omitted here.

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
104, line 55. [cuneiform]. I have given "sanat an-na" as the reading of this group, but the "anna" may possibly be the phonetic reading of the word; if so, it would read "sanna."

> The passage from p. 104, line 58, to p. 105, line 63, present many difficulties, and the present reading can only be considered an approximation.

105, line 70. Read "nam" for "num" in sa-nam-ma.

106, line 71. [cuneiform] on some bilingual tablets is equated with [cuneiform], "gal-lu-u," the name of a class of spirits or genii, generally evil ones.

117, line 94. Substitute [cuneiform], "mi-ri-he-e-ti," for [cuneiform], "mi-mut-e-ti."

„ line 3. [cuneiform], "sa-ḫu-u," appears rather to be [cuneiform], "ir-ḫu-u."

> The passage from p. 118, line 5, to p. 126, line 79, is full of difficulties, and the translation in several places not to be relied on. By accident I have wrongly translated the monogram [cuneiform] as "zit," "rising," it is "erib," "setting;" but I doubt now if [cuneiform] is used here as a monogram. It is evident that my translation is wrong in lines 6 to 8, but I do not know what to propose instead.

> The passage in lines 10 to 13 appears from the sense to refer to the Goddess Ishtar, but the verbs are in the third person masculine, only the pronoun [cuneiform], "sa," at the end, showing the feminine.

123, line 49. One copy has the variant [cuneiform], "sa-at," for [cuneiform].

125, line 65. "Kurunnu" I believe to be "wine," from "karanu," a "vine" (see note to p. 267, line 73); Assurbanipal is here told to drink it.

127, line 84, to p. 128, line 93. The junction of the fragmentary texts is not quite certain, and consequently there is some doubt about the reading.

132, line 22. "Na-ganti" I have translated "musical instruments," thinking at the time of the Heb. נְגִינוֹת; this was a mistake, "naganti" means "treasures."

133, line 42. [cuneiform].

> I have not recognized the true phonetic reading of this word until my work was completed. A bilingual gives the reading [cuneiform], "ki-sad," and in the parallel passage Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 45, line 51, we have [cuneiform], "ki-sa-di," the meaning is "neck."

135, line 57. [cuneiform]. One bilingual gives [cuneiform], "sa-ti," for the value of the character; another gives [cuneiform], "ir-ti," which I now find to be the correct form.

„ line 59. "Kullumi," perhaps here means "to revile."

140, line h. "Mitpanu," the Assyrian name of the bow, is here written phonetically instead of the usual [cuneiform]; another instance occurs in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 7, No. ix A.

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145, line 2. "Uz̤-zi," "an arrow;" see Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 42, line 57, where we have "mitpanate va uz̤z̤i," "bows and arrows."

153, line 22. The word "passar" is one of the most difficult in the Assyrian language.

> In Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 23, l. 28, we have [cuneiform] equated with [cuneiform], but this does not explain the present passage; my reading "state chairs" is a mere makeshift. In K, 2562, a passage occurs which leads me to the opinion that "passur" was the name of a metal, plate, or dish; the passage is [cuneiform], "In precious dishes precious food eating."

160, line 77. Restoration and reading not quite certain.

„ line 79. "Ke-e;" the translation "only" for this word is doubtful; it may mean "then."

164, line 114. Te-bis-u.

> I have some doubt about this word, the Cylinder is fractured here.

165, line 122. [cuneiform].

> This word, whatever its sound, evidently means "a chariot;" the first part, [cuneiform], in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 16, l. 36, is equated with [cuneiform], "ruk-kip-ta;" the second part, [cuneiform], is probably connected with "is-du-du."

166, line 10. [cuneiform], zibi bird, means a "rapacious bird," Heb. צָבוּע rapuit.

„ line 11. [cuneiform], id bird, is probably connected with the Heb. עַיִט, "ravenous bird," "bird of prey."

167, line 21, to p. 168, line 24, is a doubtful passage; no dependence can be placed in the present translation.

„ line 25. [cuneiform] is shown by the bilingual tablets to be the equivalent of [cuneiform], p. 169, line 40.

169, line 34. Restore [cuneiform].

173. Something is lost between lines 25 and 26.

175, line 49. Read "a-ḫa-mis" for "a-ha-mis."

177, line 78. Last part doubtful.

„ line 81. "Kili." This is a word meaning anything fabricated; in some cases it cannot mean "a boat."

„ line 83, to p. 178, line 87. The reading is doubtful on account of the fractured state of the cylinder.

181.　Omen tablet inscriptions.

> The style of these inscriptions is different to the ordinary annals, and they are more difficult to translate, so that although the general sense is correct, the separate words cannot always be relied on.
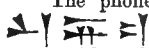
183, line *p*, to page 184, line *s*.

> The construction of this passage is very singular, but I think the translation is quite correct.

189.　Proclamation. This is a difficult inscription; the translation is doubtful in several places.

193, line 15.　The word "rugged" was accidentally omitted.

„　line 16.　⊢𝌆◁.

> The phonetic reading of this monogram is given on bilingual tablets as 𝌆𝌆 𝌆𝌆, "qa-ne-a," Heb. קָנֶה; the character 𝌆 probably denotes some epithet, the whole meaning a particular kind of reed.

„　line 2.　"Ikil pa," doubtful words.

206, line 49.　Substitute 𝌆 for 𝌆.

208, line 65.　"Ṣapti." I should have felt inclined to translate "tongues" here, but the word is clearly "lips."

213.　A comparison of the list of towns in pp. 213, 214, 220, 241, 242, with the list in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 40, will show many interesting variations.

219, line 5.　The form "uk-ta-ta-zir" from "kizir" is remarkable; this conjugation is very rarely used.

220, line 7.　𝌆. This character means "ditto," but its sound is unknown to me.

227, line 75.　"Susinaq."

> I take the reading "Susinaq" from Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 57, line 18, and the Susian Inscriptions, lithographed by Loftus; but this reading for the characters in the present passage of Assurbanipal, although probable, is not certain.
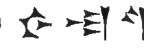
228, line 77.　"Lagamaru."

> This is certainly the deity whose name enters into the proper name of Cheorlaomer.

229, line 87.　𝌆𝌆𝌆𝌆.

> This complicated character denoted a "statue," and the reading is given in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. III, p. 70, line 52, as 𝌆 𝌆 𝌆, "za-al-mu."

233, line 118.　"Ḥuṣi" is given in a bilingual as the equivalent of "raqip," "to ride."

„　line 123.　⊢𝌆𝌆◁𝌆. A bilingual fragment gives 𝌆 𝌆𝌆, sal-la-tu, as the reading of this character.

234, line 7.  ⟨cuneiform⟩.

> This difficult word is the name of some wild animal; two phonetic readings are given on the tablets, ⟨cuneiform⟩ and ⟨cuneiform⟩. I have no clue to the animal intended.

240, line 63.  " Kibiri."

> When I translated "kiribi," "burial," I had not noticed the excellent remarks of Mr. Norris, at the bottom of p. 532 of his Dictionary, where he proposes a similar meaning, "tomb," for this word.

249, line *d*.  Substitute ⟨cuneiform⟩ for ⟨cuneiform⟩.

251, line 15.  The meaning of the first part of this line is doubtful.

252.  Letter from Ummanaldas to Assurbanipal.

> The Assyrian copy of this letter is probably a translation from the Elamite original; it is obscure in several places, and many of the forms are unusual.

260, line 5.  For "bit-zin," read "bit-zer;" the meaning is "desert house" or "tent."

261, line 15.  Substitute ⟨cuneiform⟩ for ⟨cuneiform⟩ in "kap-tu."
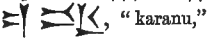
262, line 28.  The meaning of the word "ulli" is unknown to me.

264.  ⟨cuneiform⟩.

> The meaning of this character is "anyone," or "so and so." See Mr. Fox Talbot's Glossary, Part II, p. 75. I would suggest the reading "aiumma" for this word.

267, line 71.  ⟨cuneiform⟩, on a bilingual tablet ⟨cuneiform⟩, is rendered ⟨cuneiform⟩, "kis-ta;" the most common form is ⟨cuneiform⟩, "kis-ti."

„  line 73.  ⟨cuneiform⟩.

> In Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 45, line 59, ⟨cuneiform⟩ is rendered ⟨cuneiform⟩, "amur-karanu (?)." ⟨cuneiform⟩, "karanu," I believe means "the vine." Heb. כֶּרֶם, "a vine-yard," Lev. xix, 10.

274, line 31.  Here Cyl. A gives "people of Assyria, but Cyl. B, p. 286, line 10, gives "people of Arabia."

275, line 33.  " Bab-mahiri."

> Mr. Fox Talbot has suggested to me the meaning "market-place" for this word, from the Heb. מְחָר.

„  lines 33 to 36.  This is a difficult passage.

> The translation of line 34 is very doubtful. The same must be said of the parallel passage in Cylinder B.

280, lines 87 to 90.  A difficult passage, translation doubtful.

281, line 96.  " Usu" is probably the Hosah of Joshua, ch. xix, v. 29.

287.   There are some lines wanting between lines 20 and 21.

288, line 37.   First part of name very doubtful.

289, line 39.   Read " ẓer " for " ẓin."

290, line 56.   Substitute 〈𝖸⊢ ⸸𝖸 for 〈𝖸⊢ ⸸𝖸.

297, line 5.   ⸗𝖸 𝗪 ⸸, mostly written ⸗𝖸 ⸸.

> A bilingual tablet gives the reading ⸸ 〈𝖸⸸ " sab (?)-ḍi." Heb. שבט ;
> the bilingual passage is among a number of titles of Nebo, and reads "Holding
> the great sceptre, director of the world."

301, line 118.   " Ṣaḥmasti " is probably connected with " ṣiḥu," " a revolt;" it is
⸗𝖸𝖸 ⸗𝖸〈𝖸 ⸸ ⸗⸗𝖤𝖸, ṣi-ḥu-mas-tu, in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 32, l. 40,
and ⸗𝖸𝖸 ⸗⸸ ⸸ ⸗𝖸〈, ṣi-ḥi-mas-ti, in an unpublished tablet of Assur-
banipal.

302, line 8.   𝖨𝖤𝖸𝖸, the monogram for " a sheep," I believe, means " a sacrifice," and
〈⸗⸗, " niqa," " a libation," Heb. נֶקַ ; the verbal form " niqa " came to
mean " to sacrifice " as well as " to pour out."

„ line 11.   The words " adi Ili " are doubtful, on account of a fracture.

305, line 7.   The 〈𝖸⊢ at the end of this line cannot mean " her," as Mr. Norris
suggests, Dict. p. 623, because it also occurs in the other version of this
inscription which is dedicated to the God Nebo.

308, line 31, to p. 311, line 59.

> This passage is so defective that little reliance can be placed in the reading.

313, line 78.   ⸗𝖸 𝖨𝖤𝖸𝖸⸗𝖸𝖸𝖸.   A bilingual tablet gives ⸗𝖸𝖸 ⸗𝖸𝖸〈𝖸 ⸗⸗, e-ri-ni, as
the equivalent of this monogram.

315, line 27.   Read " si " for " ṣi " in si-ḍi.

# CHRONOLOGICAL REMARKS

ON THE HISTORY OF

# ASSURBANIPAL,

CALLED ALSO

ASSURBANI,* AND ASNAPPAR,† WRITTEN CORRUPTLY ACRAGANES,‡

*Who reigned at Nineveh from B.C. 668 to 627; the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus.*

## BY J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.

THE Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, are of great interest to the historical inquirer, as affording accurate points of contact between Egyptian, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Lydian history, and as throwing light upon several doubtful points in the comparative chronology of these four nations.

## I. As regards Egypt.

I come at once to the valuable discovery made by Mr. George Smith, the translator of the foregoing history, that the date of the revolt of Psammetichus I, king of Egypt, from the dominion of the Assyrians, which I assume to be equivalent to the date of his putting down the Assyrian governors set over Egypt by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, called "the dodecarchy" by Herodotus and Diodorus, and establishing himself as sole monarch of that country, was the year B.C. 652–1. The establishment of this single date seems to me to lead to so many important results in history as to justify some detail, while examining the grounds upon which it rests.

We are all aware that Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian, in the days of Philadelphus, assuming that his reckoning is truly

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* G. Smith.  † Ezra iv. 10.  ‡ Castor and Abydenus.

represented to us by Africanus, in the third century, placed the death of Necho I, the father of Psammetichus, in the year B.C. 655, and the accession of Psammetichus in 654, allowing for no interval between the two reigns : thus—

XXVIth DYNASTY—OF NINE SAITE KINGS.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stephinates .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 years, | from B.C. | 675 |
| Nechepsos | .. | .. | .. | 6 ,, | ,, | 668 |
| Necho I | .. | .. | .. | 8 ,, | ,, | 662 |
| Psammetichus | .. | .. | 54 ,, | ,, | 654 |
| Necho II | .. | .. | .. | 6 ,, | ,, | 600 |
| Psammuthis .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 ,, | ,, | 594 |
| Vaphres (or Hophra) | .. | 19 ,, | ,, | 588 |
| Amasis .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 44 ,, | ,, | 569 |
| Psammecherites .. | .. | .. | 6 months, | ,, | 525 |

Altogether 150 years and 6 months.

XXVIIth DYNASTY—OF EIGHT PERSIAN KINGS.

Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign over the Persians, reigned over Egypt six years * .. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 525 \\ \text{to} \\ 519 \end{array} \right.$

This reckoning is peculiar to Manetho, as copied by Africanus, both as regards the date of the death of Necho I, and the date of the death of Cambyses. Both dates, however, I believe to be correct. But the copyist is, I think, incorrect in placing the accession of Psammetichus immediately after the death of his father, who was merely one of twelve kings in lower Egypt, not sovereign both of upper and lower Egypt. So that Psammetichus could not by inheritance lay claim to the title to the throne of the whole kingdom so early as B.C. 654. If we modify this statement, as seems to be required, by allowing an interval of two years between the death of Necho and the actual accession of Psammetichus, during which time Psammetichus was once compelled to fly from Egypt, that is when the king of Ethiopia had slain his father,† and once again confined by the other eleven kings to the lower parts of Egypt, as related by Herodotus, it will bring us to the same year B.C. 652–1 for the time of his becoming sole and absolute king of upper and lower Egypt. This testimony of Manetho is valuable for its independence of other reckonings of the reigns of the XXVIth Dynasty. Yet it has never been accepted by chronologists, owing to uncertainty as to the

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* Cambyses reigned from 529 to 518, and died in May, 518. His first year in Egypt was 525, though Psammecherites then reigned; 518, his last, was counted to the Magi.

† Herodotus ii, 152.

proper mode of adjusting the reckoning of the intermediate reigns from Psammetichus to Cambyses, after curtailing ten years from the sum total of the separate reigns, as known from monumental sources, which together amount to 160 years and 6 months, not 150 and 6 months, as stated by Africanus. Even Africanus himself, who makes the deduction of ten years, does it incorrectly, by shortening the reign of Necho II, and making it six instead of sixteen years, rather than lapping over the reigns of Apries and Amasis.

In the year 1864 I pointed out,[*] in reply to a paper written by Dr. Hincks in the Journal of Sacred Literature, how Mariette's discovery of the tombs of the sacred bulls buried at Memphis in the successive reigns of Tirhakah, Psammetichus, Necho II, Psammuthis, Apries, Amasis, Cambyses, and Darius, had supplied the means of correctly adjusting these several reigns : how from these Apis-monuments it was proved to be incorrect to assign to both Apries and Amasis the full length of their reigns, inasmuch as the Apis whose burial took place in August of the 12th year of Apries was followed by an Apis installed in February of the 5th year of Amasis, showing that the 5th of Amasis must have followed within six or eighteen months of the 12th year of Apries ; and how these two kings, therefore, must have been living, if not reigning, together for ten or eleven years. From the Apis-tablets, therefore, we learn that the last year of Apries was concurrent with the 11th year of Amasis, B.C. 559, and by a comparison of these tablets with other Egyptian monuments we obtain, what I conceive to be the correct arrangement of the reigns : thus—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Psammetichus .. .. .. | 54 years, | from 2 Feb. B.C. | 652 |
| Necho II .. .. .. .. | 15½ ,, | ,, 19 Jan. ,, | 598 |
| Psammuthis .. .. .. | 5½ ,, | ,, 16 ,, ,, | 583 |
| Apries, or Hophra .. .. | 19 ,, | ,, 15 ,, ,, | 577 |
| Amasis, counting from his conquest of Apries } | 44 ,, | ,, 12 ,, ,, | 569 |
| From the death of Apries | 35† ,, | ,, 9 ,, ,, | 558 |
| Psammecherites .. .. | 6 months, | ,, ,, | 525 |
| Cambyses .. .. .. .. | 6 years, | ,, 1 ,, ,, | 524 |
| Magi .. .. .. .. | 7 months, | ,, ,, | 518 |
| Darius .. .. .. .. | 36 years, | ,, 30 Dec. ,, | 518 |

* Journal of Sac. Lit., Oct., 1864.

+ Diodorus has 55 in our present copies. Amasis was still alive in 524, according to Ctesias. Some called this his 35th year : others called it 2nd of Cambyses.

The same result is obtained from Herodotus,* who tells us that when Amasis, who was of low rank by birth, and little honoured at first by the Egyptians, had conquered Apries of the blood royal of Egypt, he dared not to put the king to death, but allowed him to remain in his own palace at Sais, till he was put to death, as we are told by Josephus,† in the 23rd or 24th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and by that king's command ; or, as Herodotus relates, by the partizans of Amasis, who were jealous of his being allowed to live. Apries was then buried with kingly honours, and a sumptuous monument erected by Amasis to his memory. After the death of Apries, Amasis no doubt reckoned his own reign as 44 years, counting from the conquest of his master ; but the priests of Memphis who inscribed the tablets, and also the neighbouring nations, would still have looked upon Apries as legitimate king as long as he remained alive, that is, till B.C. 559. Thus while the 4th year of Amasis, 566, was reckoned by the priests as the 12th of Apries, Ezekiel,‡ in the 7th year of Amasis, still speaks of Hophra as Pharaoh, while apparently alluding to his deprivation of power, in these words :— " I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and it shall not be bound up to be healed."

A similar and striking instance of this double mode of reckoning regnal years, on a change of dynasty from kingly to plebeian line, and one bearing, as we shall see, on the chronology of this period, is found in the time of Herod the great. For when he had conquered and deposed Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean kings of Judæa, at the close of the sabbatical year B.C. 37, three years after he had been appointed king by the Senate of Rome, Josephus tells us that not even torture could induce the Jews to recognize him as king so long as Antigonus, of native kingly race, which Herod was not, remained alive. Antigonus, therefore, was at length put to death by Mark Antony, as Apries had been put to death by the partizans of Amasis, that Herod might reign ; and Josephus‖ records a double reckoning of the years of his reign, counting thirty-seven years from his appointment by the Senate, or rather perhaps from

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* Herod. ii, 172.　　　　† Jos. Ant. x, ix, 7.
‡ Ezek. xxx, 21.　　　　‖ Ibid. xvii, viii. 1.

his arrival in Judæa as king, and thirty-four years from the time of the murder of Antigonus, in the spring of B.C. 36.*

In the same article, I referred to an argument, the force of which was fully recognized by Dr. Hincks, drawn from the date of the total solar eclipse of B.C. 585, which put an end to the six years' war between Cyaxares and Alyattes king of Lydia, which war was over before the capture of Nineveh. Dr. Hincks laboured hard to show that the total eclipse of B.C. 603 must have been the eclipse referred to by Herodotus, though Alyattes, according to the Parian Chronicle, had then been only two years on the throne, and it is now deter-mined by astronomers that the shadow of that eclipse passed over the Red Sea, and not near Asia Minor; for he well knew, as most other chronologists also admit, that the eclipse and battle referred to must have happened close upon the time of the fall of Nineveh, and therefore close upon the time of the death of Necho II, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. So that Pharaoh Necho who fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who sought his life (Jerem. xlvi, 26), after 585, could not have died much earlier than the year B.C. 583, where I place his death. And as Psammetichus began to reign in the 70th year preceding Necho's death, the accession of Psammetichus by this argument also would be placed not earlier than B.C. 652.

Mr. George Smith, from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, has led us, by a perfectly different process, to the same conclusion. He has given the list of Archons eponymes at Nineveh, together with their dates (p. 321), from the accession of Assurbanipal, in B.C. 668, to the year 648: and although he does not bind himself to any particular date for the first year of Psammetichus, he has shown that the revolt of Psammetichus from the dominion of Assyria, which began in the year of the death of Gyges king of Lydia, was connected with the revolt of Saulmugina king of Babylon, which broke out in the year that Assurdurusur was archon at Nineveh, that is, in the year B.C. 652–1 (66, 67, 151, 181).†

It will have been observed in the foregoing history, that Assur-banipal speaks of Gyges king of Lydia, having "sent his forces to the

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* Herod's 35th year was not completed. He died before the month Nisan B.C. 1, and, according to Jewish custom, Archelaus' first year was reckoned from B.C. 2.

† See also Zeitschrift für Ægyptiche sprache, Sept. 1868, p. 98; also an article in the North British Review, July, 1870, p. 354.

aid of Psammetichus king of Egypt (Muzur), who had thrown off the yoke" (p. 66). Now those forces are unquestionably the same as the body of Carians and Ionians in brazen armour spoken of by Herodotus[*] and Diodorus,[†] with whose assistance he conquered the other eleven kings of the dodecarchy, and made himself master of the throne. The chronology, therefore, of the period, after making some allowance for differences between Egyptian and Assyrian modes of relating the same facts, seems to run thus :—Necho's last year, as stated by Manetho, was B.C. 655. He was slain by the king of Ethiopia in that year. In the same year, according to Herodotus, Psammetichus was expelled from Egypt either by the Assyrians or Ethiopians, and fled into Asia Minor, where he was welcomed, as appears, at the court of Gyges. Gyges, then in his last year, took up his cause, and prepared to send a force of Carians and Ionians to support his claim to the throne of Egypt ; both thus casting off their allegiance to the king of Assyria. Assurbanipal, who was then engaged in war with Elam, and unable to detach any of his forces, imprecates curses on the head of Gyges, who, in answer to his prayer, is slain by the Cimmerians, either in 655, or in the beginning of 654 (p. 67), and Psammetichus, in the same or the following year, is recalled to Egypt by the people of Sais. Being, however, suspected of ambitious designs upon the throne by the eleven other confederate kings, and not yet, therefore, reckoned sole king of Egypt, he is confined by them to the lower parts about the Delta ; when suddenly, in B.C. 653, a body of Carians and Ionians having landed in the Delta, he puts himself at their head, and in the course of that year conquers the eleven confederates and makes himself supreme. His first year, therefore, was probably 653, though his reign would not be counted till the month Thoth in the following year, that is, from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

The correctness of this view of the history is confirmed with exactness by a comparison of Diodorus with the records of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Diodorus relates that when the king of Ethiopia, whom he wrongly supposes to be Sabbaco, but who was really Tirhakah, had, in obedience to a vision, departed from Egypt, and returned to Ethiopia, there was anarchy in Egypt during two

* Herod. ii, 152.      † Diodorus, lib. i, Rhodom. p. 59.

years. The Assyrian account, as collected from the annals of Esarhaddon, is somewhat different. Esarhaddon records that he conquered Tirhakah about the year B.C. 671-670, and compelled him to fly into Ethiopia, and that the Assyrians then divided Egypt into twenty districts, and set over them so many petty kings, and governors. The annals of Assurbanipal then commence by recording how, in the year 668, when Esarhaddon was approaching his death, Tirhakah suddenly returned from Ethiopia, turned out the kings and governors, and again seized the throne; how he in turn was driven out a second time by Assurbanipal, and how the kings, *twelve* of whom bear Egyptian names, and governors were replaced, strengthened, and "*joined in covenant*" (p. 23). This union in covenant to support each other may be dated from B.C. 667, and continued for some few years. But "*afterwards*," let us say in 664, they entered into a conspiracy with Tirhakah, and invited him to become their supreme lord, instead of the Assyrians; still continuing their mutual covenant "to help each other" (p. 25). Here, then, are the two years of anarchy spoken of by Diodorus, during 669 and 668, very distinctly described, followed by a confederacy of twelve kings, and other governors, in B.C. 667. Diodorus then goes on to speak of this association of kings. For, after the two years of anarchy, he tells us that *twelve* principal governors conspired together at Memphis, and having *sworn to support each other*, made themselves kings, and administered the affairs of Egypt for 15 years; and that at the end of these 15 years, ($\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\kappa\grave{a}\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa a$ $\H{\epsilon}\tau\eta$, twice repeated in words), the government came into the hands of Psammetichus by the aid of a force of Arabians, Carians, and Ionians, by whom he put down the other eleven kings.[*]

Thus while the Assyrian and Greek accounts sufficiently support each other as to facts, the chronology of the period has fortunately been preserved by Diodorus with complete exactness. For, if we deduct two years of anarchy and fifteen years of dodecarchy, together seventeen years, from the end of the year B.C. 670, when Tirhakah first fled from Esarhaddon into Ethiopia, we arrive again at the same date, B.C. 652, for the accession of Psammetichus.

I submit, therefore, that unless reason can be shown for doubting

[*] Diodorus i, p. 59.

the accuracy of Diodorus, there is no room for disputing that the
first year of the reign of Psammetichus, as king of upper and lower
Egypt, was counted from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

But perhaps the question may be raised, whether, admitting that
Psammetichus revolted from Assyria in B.C. 652, it is not possible
that his regnal years may have been counted from the time when his
father Necho I was replaced on the throne of Sais by Assurbanipal,
after he had been carried prisoner to Nineveh, that is, in B.C. 662,
and when his son Neboshasban (which may probably be the Assyrian
name given to Psammetichus) was made one of the dodecarchy, or
a petty king, at Atribes (p. 28). The one, true, and sufficient answer,
however, to this question, never to be set aside,* must still be, that
unless the total solar eclipse which put an end to the six years
Lydo-Median war can be placed above the year B.C. 585, where
astronomers have now finally fixed it, either by adopting the total
eclipse of B.C. 610, where Ideler proposed to place the last battle,
or the total eclipse of B.C. 603, for which Dr. Hincks so earnestly,
but unsuccessfully contended, which are the only two alternatives,
the fall of Nineveh and the death of Necho II, who went up against
Nineveh, saying, " I will destroy the city and the inhabitants
thereof,"† cannot be placed earlier than about B.C. 583, nor the first
year of Psammetichus, therefore earlier than about B.C. 652. The
Apis-tablets testify that Psammetichus reigned over Egypt fifty-four
years, and from the same authority we know that Necho II com-
pleted about fifteen years and a half. This joint period, therefore,
of sixty-nine years and a half, beginning after the fall of the
dodecarchy, in Feb. B.C. 652, and ending after the eclipse, in the
summer of B.C. 583, when Nebuchadnezzar had been placed in com-
mand of his father's army, more than a year before his father's
death, becomes thus, through the medium of the annals of Assur-
banipal, one of the most accurately fixed periods in ancient history.

Again, the priests of Memphis registered the birth of an Apis
in the 26th year of Tirhakah, and his death in the 20th year of
Psammetichus, 20th day of the 12th month, Mesori.‡ So that,
allowing Tirhakah to have reigned twenty-eight years, as " king of
Egypt and Ethiopia" (Muzur and Kush), and his son Urdumane

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* See Herod. i, 103.　　† Jerem. xlvi, 8.　　‡ Mariette's Sérapéum de Memphis, p. 28.

(Rudammon) only two years, till he was ejected in the second
expedition of Assurbanipal (p. 52), together thirty years; and sup-
posing Psammetichus to have begun to reign in B.C. 662, Tirhakah
would have become king of Egypt (Muzur) as early as 692. But
this is not true. For when in the year B.C. 689 = 14th Hezekiah,
Tirhakah came to fight with Sennacherib, he is spoken of by Isaiah,
not as king of Egypt, but simply as king of Kush (מֶלֶךְ כּוּשׁ).* So
that Tirhakah was not yet king of Muzur as well as Kush so early
as B.C. 692, nor did he become king of Egypt till after 689; and
Psammetichus, who reigned not less than thirty years after the
accession of Tirhakah to the throne of Egypt, could not, therefore,
have begun to reign so early as 662.

The year B.C. 689 marks the time of a great chronological epoch
in Jewish history. For in this year the affairs of Assyria, Babylonia,
and Egypt, became closely interwoven with the political interests of
the king of Jerusalem.

1. It is the year, in the spring of which the 14th of Hezekiah
   began, and in which Merodach-Baladan, son of Baladan† king
   of Babylon, sent messengers to inquire concerning his health,
   and "of the wonder done in the land."

2. It is the year in which Sethos, or Zeet, the last of the priests
   of Vulcan, according to Herodotus,‡ and the last of the Tanite
   dynasty of Egyptian kings, according to Manetho, in the
   eighty-fifth year of the XXIIIʳᵈ Dynasty, counted from the
   period of the first Olympiad (July, 776–772), was opposed
   to Sennacherib in his campaign into Arabia and towards
   Egypt, when Tirhakah came out of Ethiopia, and when the
   army of Sennacherib was miraculously destroyed.

3. It is the year, in the autumn of which a Jewish Sabbatical
   year began, which was followed by the observance of a year
   of Jubilee, which could only take place once in forty-nine
   years; and which is shown by the words of Isaiah, "ye shall
   eat this year such as groweth of itself, and the second year
   that which springeth of the same."§    .

* Isaiah xxxvii, 9.

† "Baladan" is here written short for Merodach-Baladan, as we find Shalman written
for Shalmaneser, Jareb or Irib for Sennacherib, Saracus or Sharezar for Nergal-Sharezar.

‡ Herod ii, 141.    § Isaiah xxxvii, 30; Lev. xxv, 5, 9, 11.

4. It is the year, on the 11th of January of which, Hezekiah being sick, the shadow "on the steps of Ahaz" in the king's sick chamber, returned "ten steps" which it had gone down.

The following are the elements of the solar eclipse at Jerusalem which caused this phenomenon, as computed by Mr. Hind, introducing Hansen's last value of the moon's secular equation :—

*Annular Solar Eclipse*, B.C. 689, *January* 11.

Greenwich Mean Time of Conjunction in R.A., Jan. 10$^d$ 20$^h$ 45$^m$ 25$^s$

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| R. A. of ☉ and ☽ | .. | .. | .. | .. | 285° 15′ 26″·1 |
| Hor. Mot. in R.A. ☉ | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 43 ·6 |
| ,,            ☽ | .. | .. | .. | .. | 32  8 ·1 |
| Declination    ☉ | .. | .. | .. | .. − 23  2 41 ·1 |
| ,,            ☽ | .. | .. | .. | .. − 22 14 57 ·3 |
| Hor. Mot. in Decl. ☉ | .. | .. | .. | .. + 0 16 ·2 |
| ,,            ☽ | .. | .. | .. | .. + 6 15 ·1 |
| Hor. Parallax  ☉ | .. | .. | .. | .. | 9 ·0 |
| ,,            ☽ | .. | .. | .. | .. | 54 40 ·2 |
| Semi-diameter  ☉ | .. | .. | .. | .. | 16 11 ·5 |
| ,,            ☽ | .. | .. | .. | .. | 14 53 ·9 |

AT JERUSALEM THE ECLIPSE WOULD BE ANNULAR :—

| | | | d | h | m | s | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First Contact | .. | .. | Jan. 10 | 20 | 28 | – | ⎫ Astronomical |
| Commencement of annular phase | | | | 22 | 13 | 48 | ⎪ Mean Times |
| Ending | ,, | | | 22 | 21 | 15 | ⎬ at |
| Last Contact | .. .. .. | | 11 | 0 | 6 | – | ⎭ Jerusalem. |

∴ The duration of annular phase = 7$^m$ 27$^s$

1871, *July* 3.                                        J. R. HIND.

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* Mr. Hind's computation of the time of this eclipse at Jerusalem is made in conformity with the most recent theory of the moon's secular acceleration, and, according to this theory, it appears to be soon after 10 o'clock A.M., the sun's altitude being then 30°. And he suggests that the appearance of a ring-formed sun, for between seven and eight minutes, may have been spoken of as "the wonder done in the land." The Astronomer Royal, computing by Greenwich elements in 1854, reckoned the time as about 10 minutes after 11 o'clock A.M., which appears to me to be nearer the truth. The words of Isaiah are, as it were, the record of an astronomical observation at Jerusalem of the moon's latitude and longitude on the 11th Jan. B.C. 689, taken in a dark chamber in the king's palace, on an instrument in the form of steps, set at the angle of the latitude of Jerusalem, 31° 47′ N. : and the theory of course must be corrected by the observation. I have explained my idea of the nature of the Dial, or "Steps of Ahaz," in a recent work, "Messiah the Prince," 2nd Edit. 1869 : according to which I conceive that the sun must have risen to about 35° in altitude on that day at the time of its greatest obscuration, and that the path of the shadow must have fallen four or five degrees north of Jerusalem : while the time was about twenty minutes before noon. The effect described could only have happened a few days before or after the winter solstice, when the shadow cast by the sun on the steps would be nearly parallel with them.

This eclipse, which fixes the 14th year of Hezekiah to the year B.C. 689, is of extreme value in settling the chronology of this period. Like the eclipse of Thales, B.C. 585, and the eclipse at Nineveh, in B.C. 763, it brings down the reigns of the kings of Judah exactly twenty-five years ; and with regard to the matter in hand, it proves that Sethos, or Zeet, of the XXIII<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, in lower Egypt, and Sevechus the Ethiopian of the XXV<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, in upper Egypt, and Tirhakah, while yet king of Ethiopia, were all on the throne at the same time, when Sennacherib invaded Judæa in the year B.C. 689 ; and this in fact is what Manetho wished to convey concerning these dynasties, when, speaking of Petubastes, he wrote, " ἐφ ὃυ ’Ολυμπιὰς ἤχθη πρώτη." Manetho must have known the exact relation of the reign of Petubastes to the Olympiad, and of course intended to express what he knew with chronological precision. He meant, therefore, that Petubastes began to reign within the four years beginning in July, B.C. 776, and ending in July, 772, which in common parlance was called the first Olympiad. We shall not err much in fixing the first year of Petubastes, therefore, in the beginning of B.C. 773, and the last year of Sethos in B.C. 685.

We now count up from the first year of Psammetichus, as fixed by the Annals of Assurbanipal, B.C. 652 ; and assuming that the Apis which died in his 20th year, and which was born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, had lived twenty-six years, we arrive at the date of the first year of Tirhakah, B.C. 684, as king of upper and lower Egypt, and conqueror of Sethos, and successor of Sevechus. The following is the result :—

### XXIII<sup>rd</sup> DYNASTY,
#### OF FOUR TANITE KINGS.

| | | | B.C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Petubastes | 40 years | .. | 773 |
| Osorcho | 8 ,, | .. | 733 |
| Psammus | 10 ,, | .. | 725 |
| Zeet, or Sethos, | 31 ,, | .. | 715 |
| | | | ⋮ |
| | | | to |
| | | | ⋮ |
| | | | 685 |
| | | | 684 |

### XXIV<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY.

| B.C. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 714 | Boccoris the Saite, | 6 years. | |

### XXV<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY,
#### OF THREE ETHIOPIAN KINGS.

| B.C. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 708 | Sabbaco, or So. .. | 12 | ,, | |
| 696 | Sevechus .. .. | 12 | ,, | |
| 684 | Tirhakah .. .. | 28 | ,, | |

Nevertheless, there are some perhaps who will be disposed to adhere, with Dr. Lepsius, to the common reckoning, and to place the first of Psammetichus in B.C. 664, and the last of Necho I in 595 ;

more especially as this reckoning is supported by the great authority
of Clement of Alexandria.   For Clement,* one of the most learned
men of his day, of the same city as Ptolemy the astronomer, and of
about the same date, speaking of the captivity of Jechoniah king
of Judah, tells us that he was carried " captive to Babylon by
Nebuchadnezzar the king in the seventh year of his reign over the
Assyrians, in the second year of the reign of Vaphres over the
Egyptians, in the archonship of Philippus (Phœnippus) at Athens,
in the first year of the forty-eighth Olympiad," that is, in B.C. 588.
Clement, therefore, thus places the first year of Apries in B.C. 589,
and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in 595.    This reckoning at
first sight seems to be admissible ; for it just allows room for the
twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus, spoken of so
distinctly by Herodotus as one of the principal events of his reign,†
which, if commenced at the time of his accession in 652, might have
placed him in possession of that city in 623, and also allows room
for the twenty-eight years of Scythian occupation of Asia before
the fall of Nineveh,‡ which, if counted from 623, might bring the
fall of Nineveh and first of Nebuchadnezzar to B.C. 595.   For the
Scythians we know found Psammetichus in possession of Ashdod
on their arrival in Palestine, and we read that "Azotus, or Ashdod,
and Ascalon feared" the army of the king of Assyria "greatly."‖
This reckoning of Clement, however, will not bear the test of exami-
nation.    For neither Cylinder B, of the foregoing annals, dated
probably in the archonship of Belsunu, B.C. 647, nor Cylinder A,
dated probably in 640, in the archonship of Samas-dain-ani (p. 321),
make any allusion to this siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus ; while
we read in the history of the ninth expedition of Assurbanipal,
B.C. 647, of the submission of the Arabians of Nabatea, of the
punishment of Akko and Usu on the return of the Assyrians
through Palestine (p. 299), without a word of allusion to Psam-
metichus or Ashdod ; and in a tenth expedition, B.C. 645, spoken of
in a fragment in the British Museum (which, however, Mr. Smith
thinks may possibly belong to the reign of Esarhaddon, but which
may refer to the reign of Assurbanipal), after mention of the siege

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* Clement Alex. Strom. 1.   See Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. iv, p. 434.
          † Herod. ii, 157.          ‡ Herod. i, 105.          ‖ Judith ii, 28.

of Tyre, in the reign of Baal, it is said that the king's army went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or upper Egypt), showing that the authority of Assurbanipal was neither yet so low in Egypt, nor that of Psammetichus yet so high, as to allow of the continuous siege of Ashdod so early as B.C. 645. If we may surmise that Psammetichus drove the king of Assyria out of Egypt in that year, and began to lay siege to Ashdod in 644, this fortress would have come into possession of Psammetichus in B.C. 615, and, allowing five years' occupation to the Egyptian king before the arrival of the Scythians, that is, till 610, the fall of Nineveh and the first of Nebuchadnezzar would have happened in B.C. 583, as I have already determined. Clement's date, therefore, is probably placed twelve years too high. Of this, however, we may be quite certain, that he knew of no sufficient authority for Ptolemy's date, B.C. 604, for the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which must be looked upon as Ptolemy's own invention, and which is absolutely inadmissible. For if the Scythians entered Palestine twenty-eight years before 604, that is, in B.C. 632, room cannot be found for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod after B.C. 652. I have frequently drawn attention to the worthlessness of the dates in Ptolemy's Canon attached to the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon ; and it must be borne in mind that Ptolemy's reckoning, though justly relied upon when supported by astronomical data, is not necessarily to be held in the same estimation when astronomical data are wanting, or, in fact, as in this instance, bearing against it. Both Ptolemy and Clement must be set down as incorrect as regards the date of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar ; but we are indebted to Clement for confirming the synchronism of the first of Nebuchadnezzar with the last year of Necho II, which is in agreement with the interpretation of Josephus, and which is so clearly implied by Jeremiah where he writes,*—" Pharaoh (Necho) and them that trust in him I will deliver into the hands of those who seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon."

Clement goes on to state,—" The captivity (that is of Jechoniah, in the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588) lasted for seventy years, and

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* Compare Jerem. xxv, 1, with xlvi, 2, 26. Mr. Smith, I think, is incorrect in supposing that this passage applies to Pharaoh Hophra. Nebuchadnezzar was in Egypt when he heard of his father's death, in B.C. 581, after the battle of Carchemish.

ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king
of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians," that is, in B.C. 518, when
Darius was about thirty-seven years of age.   Now here it is that the
whole system of Clement's chronology, as well as of the common
scheme of reckoning, breaks down.   For, *à fortiori*, if seventy years,
counted from the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, end in the reign of Darius
Hystaspes, the "seventy years' desolations of Jerusalem," which
began in the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, and ended, as Daniel tells us,
in the reign of " Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the
Medes,"* must have come to end in the reign of the same king,
Darius Hystaspes.   But this king, as Daniel tells us, took the throne
of Babylon on the death of Belshazzar, when " about three score
and two years old,"† that is, in the year B.C. 492, not when he was
about thirty-seven years old in 518.

The true reckoning now comes out in perfect plainness, thus :—

<div style="margin-left:2em">

B.C.

Psammetichus and his son Necho II reign in succession ⎫ 652
    for sixty-nine years and a half, till the 1st year of ⎬ to
    Nebuchadnezzar, in association with his father,    from ⎭ 583

Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem in his 19th year after ⎫ 563‡
    the death of his father.. .. .. .. .. .. .. ⎭

Jerusalem remains desolate seventy full years, till Darius ⎫
    puts an end to the kingdom or satrapy of Babylon at ⎬ 493
    the age of 62 § .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ⎭

Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, are counted from ⎫
    the first of Darius over Babylon to the birth of Christ, ⎪
    at the time when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor ⎬ 3
    of Syria ‖ .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ⎭

</div>

This is manifestly the true outline of chronology from the time
of the accession of Psammetichus to the birth of Christ, and greatly
supported by the Annals of Assurbanipal ; while it is entirely sub-
versive of the common reckoning, which is built upon many false
foundations :—

1. On the assumption, that Psammetichus king of Egypt began
    to reign more than ten years before the expiration of the
    dodecarchy in Egypt, which cannot be true.

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* Dan. ix, 2.          † Dan. v, 31.          ‡ This date is confirmed by Demetrius.

§ Darius died at the age of 72, according to Ctesias.   He began to reign in B.C. 517, and
completed 36 years.

‖ As discovered by Dr. Zumpt.

2. On the adoption of the dates of Ptolemy the astronomer, in connexion with the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon, dates unknown to Africanus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius, and resting on no astronomical foundation.

3. On the assumption, that the battle fought by Alyattes king of Lydia in his sixth campaign against the Medes, and ended by a total solar eclipse, was fought in B.C. 610, or 603; that is, either five years before Alyattes came to the throne, or before he had reigned four years.

4. On the absurd assumption, that Astyages king of Media, who married a Lydian princess in the year of the eclipse, B.C. 585, was conquered by his grandson Cyrus king of Persia in B.C. 559, when Cyrus was 40 years of age.[*]

5. On the assumption, that the record of the taking of Babylon by "Darius,"[†] in the Book of Daniel, is a record of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

6. On the assumption that king "Darius" who lived in the time of Daniel, was king Cyaxares.

7. On the assumption, that king Cambyses, who lived not long before the time of Ezra, was called by Ezra "Ahasuerus;" and that Bardes, or Gomates, the usurper in the days of Darius, was known to Ezra by the title "Artacshastha."[‡]

I propose, on the other hand, to adhere strictly to the foregoing outline of chronology in what follows, and in doing so, I think it will be found that many apparently conflicting records in ancient history readily fall into place.

## II. As regards Assyria.

Assurbanipal, as we have seen, was associated on the throne with his father Esarhaddon in May, B.C. 668, in which year his father died. He began, therefore, to reign alone in the year B.C. 667.

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[*] Hales' Chronology, Vol. i, p. 269.

[†] Herodotus speaks of Darius, son of Hystaspes, as king of the Medes.

[‡] To the above contradictions may be added,—That the capture of Samaria by "Shalmanezer," was the capture of Samaria by Sargon.

The exact duration of his reign cannot be gathered from the Assyrian records. But, by comparing these records with the Babylonian Canon and other sources of information, it may be inferred, with much probability, that he reigned forty-two years. From the foregoing history it appears that, on the death of Esarhaddon, whose principal residence was at Babylon, his younger son Saulmugina (the Sammughes of Polyhistor) had been left as viceroy on the throne of Babylon; and, according to the Babylonian Canon, he reigned there twenty years, till the year B.C. 648, when, being found in rebellion against his elder brother Assurbanipal, he was conquered at Babylon, and immediately burnt to death (163). Saulmugina is corruptly written in the Canon, Saosduchinus. Again, from the Babylonian Canon we learn that Kineladanus, who, according to Polyhistor, was brother of Sammuges, and therefore brother of Assurbanipal, or Assurbanipal himself,* succeeded him at Babylon, and reigned twenty-two years, till the year B.C. 626; after which Nabopalassar came to the throne. The years of Nabopalassar we know are astronomically fixed, by an eclipse in his third year, as beginning in B.C. 625. So that the two sons of Esarhaddon, who reigned in succession at Babylon, covered a period of exactly forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar.

Now, I have always maintained that Nabopalassar king of Babylon was also that king of Nineveh known to the Greeks by the title Sardanapalus, as indeed Polyhistor distinctly attests, when he relates that Sardanapalus having reigned twenty-one years married his son Nabuchodrosser to the daughter of Astyages;† and if we look to the list of Assyrian kings as given by Eusebius from Castor and Abydenus, we shall find it difficult to come to any other conclusion. For we there find the names of the three last kings of the Assyrian dynasty thus written :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Acraganes, who reigned .. .. .. .. .. | 42 years. |
| Thonos Concoleros, or Sardanapalus .. .. | 20 ,, |
| Ninus II (or Saracus) .. .. .. .. .. | 19 ,, |

* Mr. Smith identifies Kineladanus with Assurbanipal, p. 324. If so, he reigned 42 years.

† Probably a mistake for Astibares. Eupolemus writes—"Itaque Nabuchodonosorem, Babyloniorum regem, ubi rem quomodo ab Hieremia praenuntiata fuerat rescivisset, Astibarem (= Cyaxarem in Ctesia) Medorum regem, uti hujus expeditionis socius esse vellet, obsecrasse : conjunctoque Babyloniorum et Medorum exercitu——Joachimum regem vivum cepisse."— Muller's Fragments, Vol. iii, p. 229.

Thus the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus, called Acraganes, reigned forty-two years at Nineveh. Now, to assume that Acraganes reigned after Assurbanipal, who certainly was still on the throne about B.C. 640, would be to bring down the fall of Nineveh, in the time of Saracus, some eighty years below that date, that is to say, to about B.C. 560, which is quite out of the question; and as he cannot be identified with Esarhaddon, we can only conclude that Assurbanipal and Acraganes are one and the same king. Indeed Acraganes appears to be merely a corruption from Assurbani, to which form the name of Assurbanipal was sometimes contracted. While this king, therefore, as eldest son of Esarhaddon, occupied the throne of Nineveh for forty-two years, till the time of Sardanapalus, his brother and himself occupied the throne of Babylon in succession for forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar, who was called Sardanapalus. He reigned, therefore, from B.C. 668 to 626: the reign of his son Assur-ebil-ili being included probably in this last year, he having been associated with his father before his death.

To the great disturbance however, as I think, of the true history, it has been usual to identify Assurbanipal himself with Sardanapalus. Thus Professor Rawlinson writes,—" He was no doubt one of the two kings called Sardanapalus, celebrated by Hellanicus; he must have been the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes."* This opinion is worthy of much respect, as having been adopted by the authorities of the British Museum, as indicated on the slabs brought from the palace of Assurbanipal. It may be observed, however, on the other hand, that as Callisthenes speaks of two kings called Sardanapalus, the one effeminate the other warlike,† so Herodotus also speaks of two kings, about the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C., both bearing the same title Labynetus, the first of whom, for reasons hitherto unexplained, yielded up the reins of government, and allowed his kingdom to be administered by his wife Nitocris; the second, known as the great king of Babylon, son of Labynctus and Nitocris, against whom Cyrus the Persian, grandson of Astyages, called *the mule,* had commenced warlike preparations,‡ when, as Megasthenes relates, being seized with frenzy, he ascended the upper

* Ancient Monarchies, Vol. ii, p. 502.    † Suidas, voce Sardanapalos.
‡ Herod. i, 188.

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terrace of his palace, forewarned the Babylonians of the coming of a
*Persian mule* who should capture Babylon, and suddenly died. So
also Jewish records speak of two great kings, both called Nabuchodo-
nosor, the one who was forsaken by his allies, wanting in military
capacity, and given to feasting and luxury, viz., "Nabuchodonosor
who reigned at Nineveh,* whose dependent provinces made light of
his commands, and sent away his ambassadors from them without
effect and with disgrace;" the other, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar,
who together with Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus,† conquered Nineveh,
likened by Megasthenes to Hercules, who conquered Tyre, Egypt,
and Jerusalem, and established the Babylonian empire. These two
pairs of unwarlike and warlike kings, called Labynetus and Nabu-
chodonosor, can only be identified with the Nabopalassar and his
son Nabuchodrossor of the Chaldean historians ; and as it would be   ·
unreasonable to imagine three pairs of kings, bearing the same titles,
living within the same range of time, and distinguished by the same
characteristics of effeminacy and valour, there can be no question that
Polyhistor is correct, and that Sardanapalus the effeminate represents
Nabopalassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and Sardanapalus the
warlike, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar himself; and that Labynetus,
or Nabo-netzar, the husband of Nitocris, and Nabuchodonosor who
reigned at Nineveh, are one and the same king. But again, this is
exactly what Abydenus and Castor have told us, when they name
the other title by which Sardanapalus was known. The most corrupt
and incomprehensible form of the title is Thonos Concoleros, the least
corrupt form perhaps being Makoscoleros, as written by Sycellus.‡
Now, "Mako," I conceive to be merely a corruption of Nabo ; and
Naboconcoleros no one can doubt would be a corruption of Nabo-
chodoneros, or Nabuchodonosor.

Thus Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, who reigned forty-two years,
was predecessor of Sardanapalus, not Sardanapalus himself ; and Sar-
danapalus, or Nabopalassar, reigned twenty years over Nineveh.
Thus also, the chronology of the empire of Assyria is brought down
with distinctness to the year B.C. 606, the last year of the reign of
Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus. And as during the reigns of Sargon,
Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and Saracus, Nineveh and

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* Judith i, 1, 11.        † Tobit xiv, 15.        ‡ Syncellus Dind. Vol. i, p. 390.

Babylon formed parts of the same empire, so. Nabopalassar, though fixing his palace at Babylon, like Esarhaddon, is properly described, as in the Book of Judith, as reigning at Nineveh.

The history now becomes somewhat obscure. Nevertheless, it lies before us, if we are willing to put together the scattered threads which have been preserved. For we learn from Cleitarchus that "Sardanapalus died of old age, after having been deprived of the empire of Syria," that is, Assyria. It was not he, therefore, that burned himself in his own palace. Aristobulus * informs us that Sardanapalus was buried at Ankiale, near Tarsus, and that the inscription on his tomb declared that he was descended from Anacynderaxes, or Anabaxares, both probably corruptions of Sennacherib. He may have been descended, therefore, through a female line from Esarhaddon and Sennacherib : and so claimed the empire of right on the death of Assur-ebil-ili. And this is the meaning of a peculiar expression used by Abydenus, who, after speaking of Axerdis or Esarhaddon, writes,—" hinc Sardanapalus exortus est." That he was still alive as late as B.C. 585, we know from Herodotus, who says that it was "Labynetus of Babylon,"—he does not say king—who with Syennesis of Cilicia brought about peace between the Medes and Lydians in that year, which well accords with the fact of his residence at Tarsus ; and from Berosus we learn, that at the time of the fall of Nineveh (583) he was incapable of heading his own army, which he placed under his son Nebuchadnezzar. All this, again, is perfectly consistent with the fact that his wife Nitocris was reigning at Babylon when Nineveh was finally overthrown in that year.

Now what we wish to know is, what was doing at Nineveh during the twenty-four years from 606 to 583, while Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar was taking his ease at Tarsus, and while Nitocris was holding the reins of government at Babylon.

If we turn to Agathias, who follows the history of Ctesias, he tells us, that it was Arbaces† the Mede, and Belesus the Babylonian, son of Delcetades, who deprived Sardanapalus of the empire (in B.C. 606) : and from Abydenus we learn that Saracus, who must have

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* The several passages may be conveniently referred to in Clinton's Fast. Hell., Vol. i, 275.

† We know of no king of Media at this time called Arbaces. Possibly Belesus the Babylonian may have been prefect of Arbaka.

succeeded Belesus, was in possession—he does not say how—of the throne of Nineveh, when Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares conquered that city, and when Saracus, not Sardanapalus, burned himself in his palace (in B.C. 583).    Now, with regard to the fall of Assyria, it has been customary to suppose that the son of Assurbanipal, whose name is written Bel-ebil-eli, was the last king of Nineveh.  But it has been conjectured that he had two successors, Bel-ziker-iskun (or Bel-sum-iskun), and a son and successor of Bel-ziker-iskun, whose name is supposed to be lost, and who was probably the monarch under whom Nineveh was destroyed.

This conjecture may not unlikely prove to be the truth.   For who is Bel-sum-(iskun) " king of Assyria,"*  but Belesus, son of Delcetades of Ctesias ? and who is his son, whose name is said to be lost, but (Nergal)-Sharezar, or Saracus, who, on a tablet in the British Museum, announces himself to be son of Bel-sum-iskun, " king of Babylon,"* and who has hitherto been supposed to be quite another king.†

The succession, therefore, of kings at Nineveh, was thus :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, and Assur-ebil-ili .. .. .. .. } reign 42 years, from B.C. 668 | | | |
| Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus, Nabuchodonosor, or Labynetus, husband of Nitocris .. .. } ,, 20 ,, ,, 625 | | | |
| The Scythians obtain supremacy in Asia for 28 years .. 610 | | | |
| They make peace with Psammetichus in .. .. .. .. 608 | | | |
| Bel-sum-iskun, or Belesus, and his son Saracus, or Nergal-Sharezar, as tributaries to Scythia .. .. .. .. } reign 22 years, from B.C. 605 ? | | | |
| Nabopalassar and Nitocris, after the fall of Nineveh .. .. } ,, 2 ,, ,, 583 | | | |
| Nebuchadnezzar .. .. .. .. ,, 43 ,, ,, 581 | | | |

This is obviously the true outline of the history : and we find accordingly that it was well understood by Herodotus, Abydenus, and the writer of the Book of Judith, and that together they have given us all the necessary leading dates connected with it.   No reasonable person can doubt that Herodotus and the writer of Judith

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* Mr. Smith (p. 323) has placed Bilzikeriskun between Tiglath-Pileser and Sennacherib. But who then is Nergal-Sharezar?

† See Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. i, p. 8, No. VI.

had the same history before them, when they wrote concerning the last days of Nineveh. Herodotus relates that a certain king of Nineveh *slew Phraortes the Mede* in battle :\* that a few years after Cyaxares the Mede came up against Nineveh to avenge his father's death :† that *the allies of Assyria held themselves aloof :* that Cyaxares was the king who afterwards made peace with the Lydians at the time of the eclipse of B.C. 585 : that Nineveh was saved on this occasion by an army of Scythians : that the Scythians soon after they had conquered the Medes *led their forces towards Egypt,* and were met by Psammetichus king of Egypt in Palestine, *who purchased peace :* that on their return, the Scythians plundered *Ascalon :* and that they remained masters of Asia for twenty-eight years, till the fall of Nineveh. In the Book of Judith we read, that Nabuchodonosor (Nabopalassar, whose reign is fixed by an eclipse) "who reigned at Nineveh," in his 12th year (B.C. 614) slew *Arphaxad king of the Medes* in battle : that not long after *he was forsaken of his allies :* that in his 18th year (B.C. 608) he sent an army of 120,000 footmen, and 12,000 cavalry, by the way of Damascus, and Tyre, and Sidon *into Palestine,* "and they that dwelt in Azotus, or Ashdod, *and Ascalon* feared him greatly : and they sent embassadors unto him (the general Holofernes) *to treat of peace:*" that Joakim, or Eliakim, the aged high priest,‡ was then still ruling in Jerusalem (B.C. 608, being the ninth year of the reign of the young king Josiah) : and that Judith, after slaying Holofernes, lived to the 105th year, (*i.e.* of the captivity of the ten tribes) till B.C. 591. Neither of these histories, however, gives the exact time of the entry of the Scythians into power, from which to calculate twenty-eight years to the fall of Nineveh. But here Abydenus comes in with a remarkably exact date, showing that he had the same history before him as Herodotus and the writer of Judith. For, after enumerating the several kings of Assyria down to Sardanapalus, he writes concerning this last king—"qui omnium extremus fuit : a quo ad primum Olympiadem 67 (*read* 167) anni putantur"§—that is, from the year B.C. 610, inclusive, to B.C. 776.

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\* Herod. i, 102. † Herod. i, 103. ‡ Son of Hilkiah, Isaiah xxii, 22.

§ Euseb. Chron. i, xiii, p. 36. Mr. Clinton, Vol. i, p. 273, assumes that Abydenus has here contradicted himself to the extent of more than 230 years, which is highly improbable.

Thus the supremacy of the Scythians in Asia, which began before the expulsion of Sardanapalus from Nineveh by Belsumiskun, is dated with precision in B.C. 610, and lasted for twenty-eight years, till the time when Saracus, or Sharezar, son of Belsumiskun, was conquered by the Medes and Babylonians in B.C. 583. Abydenus then counts 1,280 years upwards from 610, inclusive, to the time of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, leading up to the year B.C. 1889 : and Ctesias counts 1,306 years from 583, leading up from the overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians to Ninus and Semiramis, which brings us again to the same date, B.C. 1889.

This series of dates is consistent, accurate, and complete. When Berosus, therefore, as quoted by Josephus, places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar after a twenty-nine years' reign of Nabopalassar in Babylon, he is reckoning from the time when the establishment of Scythian supremacy left him only his tributary position at Babylon : and when Ctesias affirms that Nineveh was destroyed in the time of Sardanapalus, he is in fact stating the truth, though mistaken in supposing that it was Sardanapalus, instead of Saracus, who destroyed himself in his palace.

The recovery, thus made, of the date of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, B.C. 1889, leads again to the recovery of the true date of the invasion of Assyria by Pul the Chaldean. For Berosus tells us that after three successive dynasties at Nineveh, that is to say, of—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 49 Chaldean kings, who reigned .. .. .. | 458 years |
| 9 Arabian kings .. .. .. .. .. .. | 145* „ |
| 45 Assyrian kings .. .. .. .. .. .. | 526 „ |
| | ——— |
| | 1,129 years |

there arose a Chaldean king called Phul, who invaded the Assyrian empire and subjugated it to the Chaldees. Now Phul, without question, is "Pul king of Assyria," who "came against the land : and Menahem gave Pul 1,000 talents of silver to confirm the kingdom to his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). If Pul, therefore, began

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* The figure in the original is 245, making 1,229 years, instead of 1,129. If that figure is retained, the 1,280 years of Castor and Abydenus must be altered to 1,380, and the 1,306 of Ctesias to 1,406. I prefer to alter 245 into 145.

to reign 1,129 years after Ninus and Semiramis, in B.C. 1889, his first year must have been B.C. 760 : and as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser is fixed, by means of the eclipse at Nineveh in 763, to the year B.C. 745, the reign of Pul must have fallen between the years 760 and 745. Now, according to my reckoning, that is the reckoning of Demetrius,* the year 760 is the 26th year of Uzziah, and the last year of Jeroboam king of Israel, and it is the third year after the eclipse of June, B.C. 763 : and with reference to this eclipse the prophet Amos writes—" And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day" (Amos viii, 9); and again, "Thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land" (vii, 11). Accordingly, it was in the year 760 that "the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pileser, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites and the Gadites," &c. (1 Chron. v, 26), and when Jeroboam must have died by the sword.

The chronology of the Assyrian empire, therefore, may thus be collected :—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elamite, or Median, domination, | lasted 224 years, from B.C. | | | 2287 |
| Eleven kings .. .. .. .. | ,, | (175) ,, | ,, | 2062 |
| From Ninus and Semiramis .. | ,, | 458 ,, | ,, | 1889 |
| Arabian invasion .. .. .. | ,, | 145 ,, | ,, | 1431 |
| Assyrian empire from Ninippalzara | ,, | 526 ,, | ,, | 1286 |
| Invasion of Pul the Chaldean | ,, | 15 ,, | ,, | 760 |
| Restoration of the Assyrian empire under Tiglath-Pileser and his successors .. .. | ,, | 135 ,, | ,, | 745† |
| Invasion of the Scythians .. | ,, | 28 ,, | ,, | 610 |
| Final destruction of Nineveh and empire of the Medes .. | | ,, | ,, | 583 |

From the foregoing reasoning, I submit that two things may be inferred with absolutely certainty—

1st. That the Median empire, after the fall of Nineveh, did not begin till after the year B.C. 585.

* See p. 365.

† Fixed by the eclipse recorded at Nineveh in B.C. 763, eighteen years before his accession. The path of this eclipse, as calculated by Mr. Hind, is given as frontispiece to "Messiah the Prince."

2nd. That since Cyaxares king of Media was still reigning in 585, and Astyages his son married the daughter of Alyattes in that year, and was on the throne at least forty years after that date, the conquest of the Medes by the Persians, and the establishment of the supremacy of the latter, did not take place under Cyrus so early as B.C. 559 : nor probably till the year B.C. 538, that is to say, till after the traditional date of the fall of Astyages, B.C. 539, as preserved by Syncellus both in the astronomical and the ecclesiastical canons.

I would earnestly suggest, therefore, to historians to take into consideration the impossibility of maintaining the reckoning of Herodotus when treating of the times of the Median and Persian empires, which is at variance with the one leading date which he has been the means of preserving to us : and that they should give heed to the histories of Ctesias and Xenophon, which are found in harmony with that date, but which are too frequently set aside as mere romance.

Astronomers also will permit me to point out that they are apparently wasting their strength, while endeavouring to rectify the theory of the moon's secular acceleration on the assumption that the siege of Larissa, which happened when the Medes were conquered by the Persians, took place so early as the year B.C. 557, and assuming as the fundamental point in their calculations that the shadow of the solar eclipse of that year must have passed centrally over that city.* While theologians will excuse me, if I entreat them no longer to make void and unintelligible the most gracious of all gracious revelations ever vouchsafed to man from heaven, by continuing to uphold the untenable contradiction, that the prophet Daniel when speaking of the great king " Darius," who took the government of Babylon in hand when about sixty-two years of age, and from whose reign are counted the "weeks" of years "unto Messiah the Prince," was speaking of some Median king bearing quite another title, or of any other king than the well known king Darius, son of Hystaspes.†

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* See Philosophical Transactions, 1853. Sir John Herschel's Astronomy, p. 685; and Hansen's Lunar and Solar Tables.

† See the last two, and most learned, commentaries on the Book of Daniel, by Dr. Pusey, and the present Bishop of Lincoln.

### III.—As regards Lydia.

Concerning the chronology of the kings of Lydia, two dates may be considered as fixed with almost absolute certainty. First, that Gyges, the successor of Candaules, began to reign in the year B.C. 704–3, in the first year of the 19th Olympiad. Second, that Alyattes began to reign in the year B.C. 605–4. The interval between these two reigns is exactly ninety-nine years, which in our present copies of Herodotus is thus filled up :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Gyges reigns     .. .. .. .. | 38 years. |
| Ardys     .. .. .. .. .. | 49  ,, |
| Sadyattes     .. .. .. .. .. | 12  ,, |
| | 99 years. |

As regards the first of these dates, Pliny records that Candaules died in the course of the 18th Olympiad = B.C. 708–4 : and Clement of Alexandria, that Gyges began to reign after the 18th Olympiad, that is in B.C. 704–3. As regards the second, the accession of Alyattes is fixed by the Parian Chronicle to the year B.C. 605–4.

The interval between the time of the accession of Gyges and the reign of Alyattes has been filled up by Eusebius almost according to fancy : thus—

| | CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS.* | | CANON OF EUSEBIUS. | | SYNCELLUS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | PART I. | PART II. | | | |
| Gyges   .. | 35 years. | 36 | .. | 36 | .. | 36 |
| Ardys   .. | 37  ,, | 48 | .. | 38 | .. | 38 |
| Sadyattes .. | 5  ,, | 15 | .. | 15 | .. | 15 |
| | 77 years. | 99 | | 89 | | 89 |

In the uncertainty produced by these several variations, showing the very wavering character of this portion of the chronology of Eusebius, the Annals of Assurbanipal come to our assistance with much precision to rectify his dates. For, as I have already shown (p. 342), Psammetichus fled to the court of Gyges in the year B.C. 655–4, and Gyges, who favoured his revolt against Assyria, also died in that same year. Gyges, therefore, must have reigned forty-nine years, from B.C. 703 to 655, not thirty-six years as given by Eusebius, nor thirty-eight years as in our present copies of Herodotus. It is clear, therefore, that either Herodotus, or more

* Armenian copy. Aucher.

3 A

probably his copyist, had reversed the figures attached to the regnal
years of Gyges and his son Ardys, which should be written forty-nine
for the first, and thirty-eight for the second, producing after correc-
tion the following chronology of the kingdom of Lydia :—

| Gyges | reigns | 49 | years, | from B.C. | 703 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ardys | ,, | 38 | ,, | ,, | 654 |
| Sadyattes | ,, | 12 | ,, | ,, | 616 |
| Alyattes | ,, | 57 | ,, | ,, | 604 |
| Crœsus | ,, | 14 | ,, | ,, | 548 |
| | | | | | to |
| | | | | | 534 |

And thus the conquest of Crœsus falls, as it should do, not many
years after the establishment of the supremacy of the Persians over
the Medes, which, as I have said, took place in the year B.C. 538, on
the death of Astyages, who was buried with kingly honours by
his son-in-law Cyrus father of Cambyses, who took the throne of
Ecbatana in B.C. 538, and established the empire of the Persians.


## IV.   As regards Judæa.

From the foregoing history of Assurbanipal, following chiefly the
outline laid down in Cylinder A, we learn that in his first expedition
he drove Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, out of Egypt, and
established the dodecarchy in B.C. 668–7 (p. 15).

That in his second expedition against Egypt, after the death of
Tirhakah, he drove Rudammon, or Urdumane, stepson of Tirhakah,
out of Egypt, in B.C. 656 (p. 52).

That in his third expedition he besieged Tyre : and that the
date of that year is fixed as being that of the death of Gyges, king of
Lydia, and the accession of Ardys, = B.C. 655–4 (p. 58).

That his fourth expedition (Cylinder B) was directed against
the city of Karbit, beyond the Tigris to the east, when the population
of Karbit was transported into Egypt : before Psammetichus, there-
fore, had become established sole king of Egypt : in B.C. 654 (p. 79).

That in the following year (p. 100, Cylinder B) he invaded Elam :
when Urtaki king of Elam was slain, and Teumman set upon the
throne of Elam, B.C. 653–2.

That in his fifth expedition Teumman was slain, and Ummanigas and Tammaritu were placed on the thrones of Elam and Hidalu; after which Saulmugina his brother, viceroy of Babylon, revolted, in the year when Assur-dur-uzur was archon eponymous at Nineveh, B.C. 652-1 (pp. 110, 151).

And—which is a point to be carefully observed—that after the elevation of Ummanigas and Tammaritu, in B.C. 652, Assurbanipal despatched an envoy to Elam to demand the restoration of the image of Nana, which had been carried off to Shushan by Kudurnanhundi, 1635 years before that time, that is in $(1635+652 =)$ B.C. 2287 (p. 200).

The result of these wars in Elam was the entire wasting and depopulation of that country, and the destruction of Shushan :* and now it was, we may assume, that Assurbanipal began to transport the population of Elam into the vacant cities of Samaria, which had been laid waste by Sargon, Shalmanezer, and Sennacherib, though tributary kings of Assyrian appointment had still continued to reign in that kingdom. The transportation of the Elamites was probably soon followed by that of the Babylonians and Susanchites, who, we have seen, were associated in revolt with Elam, and were conquered, and severely punished.

We find from the cylinders of Esarhaddon that Abibahal was king of Samaria as late as B.C. 673, and, together with Manasseh king of Judah, gave tribute to Esarhaddon; but before the year B.C. 646, according to Mr. Smith, an Assyrian governor is named as having been placed over Samaria, showing that the kingdom had then entirely ceased, and the country had become incorporated with Assyria. Now Isaiah, speaking in the first or second year of the reign of Ahaz, had said: "Within three score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people" (Isaiah vii. 8): and if we count sixty-five years upwards from the conquest of Teumman and the Elamites, in B.C. 652, we come to the year B.C. 717, which, according to the reckoning of Demetrius, is the second year of Ahaz. Again, the Seder Olam Rabbah, or great chronicle of the Jews (ch. xiv), places the carrying away of Manasseh to Babylon by the

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* It is interesting to find here distinct notice of the river Ulai near Shushan, referred to by Daniel viii, 2, the existence of which has been doubted (p. 111).

king of Assyria in the 22nd year of Manasseh : and this 22nd of Manasseh, according to Demetrius, is B.C. 652.　So that it appears that in that year an exchange of population between Palestine and the kingdoms of Elam and Babylonia had taken place, in conformity with the policy adopted by the kings of Assyria from the time of Tiglath-Pileser.　Ezra refers to this migration of captives, when, in transcribing a letter from the people of Samaria to Darius, in later days, he alludes to the "Archevites, or people of Warka in Babylonia, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnappar brought over and set in the cities of Samaria" (Ezra iv, 9, 10).

With regard to the title Asnappar, for Assurbanipal, it must be observed that the letter from the Samaritans which Ezra transcribes is written, not in Hebrew, but in the Aramaic language, and that the last syllable " pal," which signifies son in Assyrian, would properly be written " bar," or " par," which signifies son, in Aramaic.　So that the name of the Assyrian king, which if written in full would have been Assur-bani-par,[*] had become contracted in course of time by the Samaritan mixed population brought from Babylonia and Elam, into the form transcribed by Ezra.

I have observed that the time of this transportation of captives in B.C. 652, from Elam to Samaria falls in correctly with the reckoning of Demetrius, who wrote a history of the kings of Judæa about the year B.C. 222 ; and, as I believe that he who adopts the reckoning of Demetrius has the key to the interpretation both of Assyrian and Hebrew chronology in his hands, it may not be unuseful if I here set out the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, with their dates, as derived from an abstract of dates from Demetrius, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, concerning the captivities of Judah and Israel, and compare them with the Assyrian Canon.

"Demetrius, in his book on the kings of Judæa," writes Clement, " says that the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib ; but that from this captivity, (that is from the *first* carrying away of captives from the land of Judah in B.C. 688) to the *last* which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem (Jerem. lii, 30),

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[*] Dr. Haigh considers that the second element of the name, ⳾⳽ bani, may also represent, na.

there were a hundred and twenty-eight years and six months; and from the time that the ten tribes were carried captive from Samaria till the fourth Ptolemy were five (*read* four) hundred and seventy-three years, nine months; and that from the time that the (last) captivity from Jerusalem took place, three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months."[*]

## DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

| RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS. | | | | | PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B.C. | KINGS OF JUDAH. | B.C. | KINGS OF ISRAEL. | B.C. | | B.C. |
| | | | | | *End of* 1st *Soss* | 1028 |
| 993 | Solomon .. YEARS. 40 | | | | Divided into Sosses, or periods of 60 years. *End of* 2nd *Soss* | 968 |
| 953 | Rehoboam 17 | 953 | Jeroboam YEARS. 22 | .. | .. | YEARS. |
| 936 | Abijah .. 3 | | .. | .. | .. | |
| 933 | Asa .. .. 41 | 933 | Nadab .. 2 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | Baasha .. 24 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | | .. | 928 | Vul-nirari .. .. 20 | |
| .. | .. | | .. | 908 | Tukulti-Ninip .. 3 | |
| .. | .. | 907 | Elah .. } Zimri .. } 2 | .. | *End of* 3rd *Soss* | 908 |
| .. | .. | 906 | Omri .. 12 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 894 | Ahab .. 22 | 902 | Assur-nazir-pal .. 28 | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 892 | Jehoshaphat 25 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 877 | Shalmaneser II. .. 35 | |
| .. | .. | 872 | Ahaziah 2 | .. | .. | 872† |
| .. | .. | 871 | Joram .. 11–12 | .. | .. | |
| 868 | Jehoram .. 7–8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 861 | Ahaziah .. 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 860 | Athaliah .. 6 | 860 | Jehu .. 27–28 | .. | .. | 860‡ |
| 854 | Joash .. 40 | .. | .. | .. | *End of* 4th *Soss* | 848 |

[*] Clem. Alex. Strom. 1
† Shalmanezer in his 6th year conquers Benhadad, supported by troops of Ahab.
‡ Shalmanezer in his 18th year takes tribute of Jehu, and fights with Hazael.

DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON—*continued.*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B.C. | **KINGS OF JUDAH.** | B.C. | **KINGS OF ISRAEL.** | B.C. | **PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON.** | B.C. |
| | | | | | | | |
| .. | .. YEARS | .. | .. YEARS. | .. | Beginning of a *Cycle* * | 847 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 842 | [Assurdaninpal † 19]? YEARS. | |
| .. | .. | 832 | Jehoahaz 17 | .. | | |
| .. | .. | 815 | Jehoash 16-15 | 823 | Samsi-vul III. .. 13 | |
| 814 | Amaziah .. 29 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 810 | Vul-nirari .. .. 29 | |
| .. | .. | 800 | Jeroboam 41 | .. | .. | |
| | | | | | *Cycle* (karru) 5*th Soss* ‡ | 788 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | Nebo enters his new temple | 787 |
| 785 | Uzziah .. 52 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 781 | Shalmanuzur .. 10 | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 771 | Assurdayan .. 18 | |
| .. | .. | 759 | Interregnum 12 | .. | *Solar Eclipse* § | 763 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 753 | Assur-nirari .. 8 | |
| .. | .. | 747 | Menahem 10 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 745 | Tiglath-Pileser .. 22 | |
| .. | .. | 736 | Pekahiah 2 | .. | In association with Shalmanezer and | |
| .. | .. | 734 | Pekah .. 20 | .. | Sargon .. 11 | |
| 734 | Jotham .. 16 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| | | | | | *End of 6th Soss* | 728 |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 723 | Shalmanezer .. | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 722 | Sargon .. .. 17 | |
| 718 | Ahaz .. 16 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 714 | Interregnum 9 | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 705 | Hoshea 9 | 705 | Sennacherib .. 24 | |
| 702 | Hezekiah.. 29 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| .. | .. | 696 | ‖ ——— Captivity of the Ten Tribes 473 years 9 months before the IVth Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222. | .. | Sennacherib carries away captives from Judæa | 688¶ |
| 673 | Manasseh 55 | .. | | 680 | Esarhaddon.. .. 13 | |
| .. | .. | .. | .. | 668 | Assurbanipal .. 42 | |
| | | | | | *End of 7th Soss* | 668 |

* Shalmanezer inaugurates a Cycle in his 31st year. Annals of Shalmanezer II.

† Assurdaninpal, who usurped the throne, is omitted from the Assyrian Canon. By allowing nineteen years to this reign, the interval of sixty years between two cycles is made up. See the acts of this king in Oppert's Histoire des empire de Chaldée et d'Assyrie, p. 123.

‡ 23rd year of Vulnirari marked as a Cycle in the Canon.

§ 9th year of Assurdayan marked by a Solar Eclipse in Sivan (15th June, 763).

‖ This date is found upon ancient gravestones in the Crimea.—See Professor Chwolson's treatise on these stones, "Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences," St. Petersburg, 1865.

¶ Demetrius.

## RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS—*continued*.

| B.C. | KINGS OF JUDAH. | B.C. | KINGS OF ISRAEL. | B.C. | KINGS OF ASSYRIA. | B.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| .. | .. | 652 | People of Elam, Shushan, and Babylonia transported to Samaria, within 65 years from the 1st of Ahaz. Ezra iv, 10. Isaiah vii, 8. | | Image of Nana reclaimed by Assurbanipal .. .. <br> After 2 Ners = 1200 years <br> 7 Sosses = 420 ,, <br> 15 years 15 ,, <br> ——— <br> 1635 years* | 652 |
| .. <br> 618 <br> 616 | .. <br> Amon .. 2 <br> Josiah .. 31 | .. | .. | 625 | Sardanapalus or Nabopalassar .. .. 20 <br><br> *End of* 8*th Soss* | 608 |
| | | | | 605 | [Bel-sum-iskun] (?) <br> Saracus | |
| | Jehoahaz M.3 | | | 581 | 1st Nebuchadnezzar 43 | |
| 585 | Jehoiakim 11 | | | | | |
| 574 | Jechonjah 3 | | | | | |
| 573 | Zedekiah 11 | | | | | |
| 563 | Temple of Jerusalem destroyed. | .. | .. | 563 | 19th Nebuchadnezzar | |
| 560 | Last transportation of captives by Nebuchadnezzar 338 years 3 months before the IVth Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222. | | **KINGS OF PERSIA.** | | | |
| | | 559 | Cyrus father of Cambyses 29 | | *End of* 9*th Soss* | 548 |
| | | 538 | succeeds Astyages | 538 | Evilmerodach 3 | |
| | Jerusalem remains seventy years in a state of desolation, till the 1st year of Darius. (Dan. ix, 1). | | Babylon taken by Cyrus son of Cambyses, his father and grandfather being still alive, about B.C. 536. | | Nergal-Sharezar, Rabmag? § | |
| | | 536 | Cambyses ‡ 18 | 536 | Nabonadius, local king 17 | |
| | | 520 | Cyrus son of Cambyses | 495 | Belshazzar son of Nabonadius | |
| | | 517 | Darius 36 | 492 | Darius son of Hystaspes ¶ | |
| 492 | Darius† son of Hystaspes | .. <br> 493 | .. <br> Artaxerxes (Xerxes) ‖ | | *End of* 10*th Soss* | 488 |

* See p. 251.

† Darius "took the kingdom being about three score and two years old."—Dan. v, 31.

‡ Cyrus associates his son Cambyses with him in B.C. 536, when Darius is about nineteen years old. (Herod. i, 108.) Ctesias, therefore, says that he reigned eighteen years, Clement says nineteen. He continued to reign till B.C. 518, spending his last five years in Egypt.—Ctesias.

‖ Artaxerxes (Xerxes) took the kingdom (of Persia) Darius being full of years, LXX.—Dan. v, 31.

§ Jerem. xxxix, 3.   ¶ Darius now styled "king of Assyria."—Ezra vi, 22.

Thus the Books of Daniel and Ezra, which as we have seen*
are incomprehensible as regards their chronology according to the
common reckoning, become intelligible when interpreted in connexion
with the reckoning of Demetrius.   For the year in which "Darius
the Median took the kingdom," (that is, put down the turbulent
satrapy of Babylon, and took the government of Babylon and Assyria
into his own hands) when about sixty-two years' old, is found to be
the year B.C. 492, when Darius the son of Hystaspes was actually
about that age.   And from the LXX version of Daniel we find that
Artaxerxes (or Xerxes) first came to the throne of Persia in associa-
tion with his father Darius in that same year.   Καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν
Μήδων παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Δαρεῖος πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἔνδοξος
ἐν γήρει.   While Ezra, speaking of the rebuilding of the temple of
Jerusalem in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes, records how
"Ahasuerus," that is Xerxes, "in the beginning of his reign,"—the
common phrase applied to the time preceding his actual reign—was
appealed to to stop the building, and how it was "builded and
finished" in the sixth year of Darius, that is B.C. March 486, "by
the commandment of Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia": four
years after the battle of Marathon, when Darius had, as Herodotus
tells us, placed Xerxes on the throne as king, and when according to
Ezra he must have assumed the title Artaxerxes (Ezra vi, 14, 15).
But it has been objected that Daniel, according to this view, "gives
the monarch a wrong parentage (Ahasuerus instead of Hystaspes)
and a wrong nationality (Median instead of Persian).†   Here is a
difficulty which must not be slurred over too hastily.   Ahasuerus, as
I have said, represents Xerxes in the Book of Ezra : and Xerxes we
know was son of Darius Hystaspes, not his father.   How then could
Daniel, who knew the parentage of Darius, call him son of Xerxes,
which is not true ?   The LXX translation affords, perhaps, some clue
towards the solution of the difficulty, where we read (ch. ix, 1),
Ἔτους πρώτου ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξερξοῦ, ἀπο τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ὁι
ἐβασίλευσαν ἐπὶ την βασιλείαν πῶν Χαλδαίων.   The words ὁι ἐβασίλευσαν
are significant.   For, the two kings, Darius and Xerxes, we have seen,
had already become associated on the throne together, according to
the LXX, as early as the year B.C. 492 : and we here read that they

* See p. 351.          † Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 16.

were conjointly reigning over the Chaldeans, after Belshazzar's death. We might, therefore, be disposed to cut the matter short,, and laying blame on the copyist, assume that the original reading of the passage was not "in the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus," but in the first year of Darius *and* Ahasuerus, that is, of Darius and Xerxes. This is in fact the truth as regards time. And with regard to the nationality of the king, as Larcher observes, "Herodotus and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes." Even as late as the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks who favoured the Persian cause were said to Medize.

Nevertheless, I do not think that this is what Daniel intended to express. Both Daniel and Demetrius lead us to look towards the latter part of the reign of Darius for the time when he took the government of Babylon into his own hands, when we know from Herodotus that a great revolution had taken place in his dominions, in which the satrapies of Ionia and Babylon were involved, and when probably it was sought to set up again the Assyrian empire under a Median prince.* For the Medes were restless under the Persians, and more than one pretender to the throne in the early part of the reign of Darius we know, from the inscription at Behistûn, had set up his claim as "of the race of Uwakshatara," or Cyaxares the Mede. I am inclined, therefore, to think that Daniel here intends to put forward the title of Darius to be called "king of Assyria,"† as in some way connected with, or descended from Cyaxares who overthrew the empire of Assyria; that is to say, as the true representative of Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares II, who was son of Astyages. Herodotus we know had never heard of this prince. Xenophon, however, has given a full account of him. He was no doubt the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, who married Hadassah, or 'Atossa the Jewish captive. Now Darius Hystaspes also undoubtedly married a princess named 'Atossa, and we have no reason to doubt that 'Atossa was widow of Cambyses. But when Herodotus, unable to account for her royal extraction, calls her the sister as well as wife of Cambyses, we are not bound to believe him. 'Atossa was probably the daughter of Ahasuerus and Hadassah, and so, as in the parallel instance, David son of Saul,‡ "Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," truly signifies

* Herod. i, 130; iii, 150.    † Ezra vi, 22.    ‡ 1 Samuel xxiv, 16.

3 B

Darius Hystaspes, son-in-law, and representative of, Cyaxares the Mede.* Any supposition seems to be preferable to the idea that "Darius son of Ahasuerus" was Cyaxares son of Astyages.† Whatever the true solution of the difficulty may be, as regards title, there can be no question as to the chronology.

With regard to the time of the death of Belshazzar, who we now know was the son of Nabonadius, I am not aware of any ancient authority for placing the revolt of this king earlier than in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. The Chronicle of Tabari records that, after the death of Kai-Khosru (Cyrus), Lohrasp (Cambyses) took the throne; that Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes) succeeded him; and that in the reign of Gushtasp, a general named Coresh, governor of 'Irâq, was sent against Nebuchodonosor (Nabonadius) who ruled at Babylon, and that, having captured this prince, he sent him to Balk. After this Coresh took the throne of Babylon, and immediately released the children of Israel from captivity.‡ According to this account, therefore, no revolt of Belshazzar, son of Nabonadius, could have taken place earlier than the reign of Gushtasp.

Xenophon tells us that Cyrus took Babylon for the first time in the reign of the Persians, when Cambyses his father was reigning in Persia, and Cyrus himself not yet a king. I believe that he took the city a second time during his father's life, though of this we have no record in Herodotus or Xenophon. Orosius, however, writes—"Babylon for the last time was overthrown by King Cyrus, when Rome for the first time was freed from the tyranny of the Tarquin kings,"§ that is about B.C. 510. This date we know falls within the reign of Darius Hystaspes, but it is at least ten years too low. Abydenus, copying probably from Berosus, tells us that when Cyrus took Babylon and captured Nabonadius, he gave him the principality of Carmania, and that "Darius the king drove him from that province."‖ So that, according to Abydenus also, no revolt of Belshazzar could have taken place earlier than the reign of Darius Hystaspes. I am inclined to think that Tabari's record is correct, and that Cyrus, son of Cambyses

* Some of the Persian writers relate that the mother of Kishtasp (Darius Hystaspes) was a Jewess. Others, that his queen (Atossa) was a Jewess.—"Times of Daniel," by the Duke of Manchester, p. 152.

† If any one thinks it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Astyages, he need find no difficulty in supposing it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Hystaspes.

‡ Zotenberg's Translation of Tabari, p. 495.

§ Orosius con. paganos. Lib. ii, c. 2, p. 74.                    ‖ Eusebius Auch. p. 30.

king of Persia, deposed Nabonadius when Darius was actually on the throne, though not on the throne of the Persian empire. For in the Behistûn inscription Darius seems to claim to himself the title of king by birth, rather than by usurpation. And when describing the events connected with the death of Gomates the Magian, after the death of Cambyses, he says: " This is what I did *after* I had become king." There is also a Persian inscription extant (H. Lassen, p. 15), in which Darius does not style himself as usual "king of kings," but simply " king," apparently " of this province of Persia."* It is to be observed that in the great inscription at Behistûn, Darius carefully avoids fixing dates to the events of his reign; and it is clear from the Parian Chronicle, Ctesias, Manetho, and the Apis monuments that his reign of thirty-six years did not begin till after the death of Cambyses in B.C. 518.† Nevertheless, in after days he must have placed the date of his first accession as early as B.C. 521, as appears from the dates of eclipses in his reign recorded by Ptolemy. It was, I think, in the interval between 521 and 518, while Cambyses was occupied in Egypt, and when the whole empire of Persia, as described by Darius on the rock, was in revolt against him, that Nabonadius was deposed by Cyrus son of Cambyses.‡ Be this, however, as it may, when Daniel, who was in Babylon, states the fact—" In that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom," —I am at a loss to understand how any one can venture to argue that Belshazzar died during the siege in the reign of Cyrus.§ All Babylonian contracts dated in the reign of Darius reckoned of course the years of his reign from the time when he first became master of Babylon, not from the time of his putting down the revolt of Belshazzar. The tablet, therefore, in the British Museum, bearing date in the 18th of Darius, in no way interferes with this interpretation.

In support of the assertion that Demetrius affords the key to the interpretation of Assyrian as well as Hebrew chronology, I will examine the interval of sixty years between the dates B.C. 734 and 674 in the above table, within which there is much confusion of history, and concerning which Mr. Smith writes: " If the taking of

* Journ. R. As. Soc., Vol. x, Part iii, p. 273.
† See Appendix to 2nd Edit. " Messiah the Prince," p. 371.
‡ In the " Fragmenta Vetustissimorum," quoted by the Duke of Manchester, p 236, Cyrus and Darius are said to have reigned together some few years.
§ See Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 15.

Samaria happened about B.C. 721, the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah B.C. 701, with the possibility of a second attack on Hezekiah about B.C. 688, these dates cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the Book of Kings."* I should much regret to be compelled to throw doubt upon the reckoning of the Book of Kings. Let us see, therefore, whether Demetrius can relieve us from the supposed difficulty, without straining either the Book of Kings or the Assyrian Canon.

1. Both the Babylonian and Assyrian Canons attest that Esarhaddon came to the throne of Assyria in the year B.C. 680. His father Sennacherib was slain in B.C. 681, and "in the month Sabadu (January) following, 680, he entered Nineveh and was proclaimed king of Assyria."†

2. The prophet Isaiah, towards the close of the historical portion of his book, speaks of the death of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon. We may, therefore, reasonably assume that Isaiah lived as late as the year B.C. 678, two years after Esarhaddon came to the throne (Isaiah xxxvii, 38).

3. Isaiah's first vision is dated "in the year that king Uzziah died" (vi, 1): and, according to the common reckoning, this year is set down in the margin of our Bibles as B.C. 760.

So that, according to the common reckoning, there is an interval of above eighty-two years between Isaiah's first vision and the end of his life. And if we may assume that he began to prophecy at the age of twenty, he would have died when upwards of one hundred years' old. We dismiss, then, the common reckoning of our Bibles as highly improbable with regard to "the year that king Uzziah died."

Demetrius, on the other hand, places the death of Uzziah king of Judah in B.C. 734, and the death of the contemporary king of Israel, Menahem, in B.C. 737, thus making the age of Isaiah about seventy-six at his death.

That the date of Demetrius is true, and exact, is certified by the the most accurate test applicable to chronology, viz., by an eclipse registered at Nineveh in the month of June, B.C. 763, and recorded in the Assyrian Canon. For this eclipse is there set down as having happened eighteen years before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, who

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* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, 1871, p. 3.                    † Ibid. p. 10.

came to the throne, therefore, as all Assyrian interpreters agree, in the year B.C. 745-4.

4. Now Tiglath-Pileser, according to his own annals,* in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 738), received tribute of Menahem king of Samaria : and this Menahem we know had given "Pul," the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser, "a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). Therefore, as Menahem reigned not more than ten years in Samaria, this eighth year of Tiglath-Pileser (738) must have been either the ninth or tenth year of Menahem, that is either 738 or 737.

5. Again, Menahem died three years before Uzziah (2 Kings xv, 17) : "the year when king Uzziah died," therefore, according to Tiglath-Pileser's annals, was either B.C. 735, or 734, which agrees with Demetrius.

Thus far nothing can be required to add to the clearness of the agreement between the reckoning of Demetrius and the reckoning of the Assyrian Inscriptions, as regards the beginning and end of the sixty years under consideration. Let us next inquire how far the filling up of the interval between B.C. 734 and 674 in the Book of Kings, according to Demetrius, agrees with the Assyrian Canon. And here, it must be admitted, there is some difficulty.

In the foregoing table we find that Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, from B.C. 702 to 674. This I assume to be correct.

According to the Assyrian Canon, Sennacherib reigned twenty-four years, from B.C. 705 to 681. This is undoubtedly correct.

Hezekiah and Sennacherib therefore, according to Demetrius, were contemporaries, and the common reckoning of the reign of Hezekiah, from B.C. 726 to 698, must be dismissed.

Now, there are several cylinders in the British Museum relating to the reign of Sennacherib, some perfect, and some in a fragmentary state. Taylor's Cylinder is perfect, and has been translated by Mr. Fox Talbot.† It is dated "on the 20th day of the month Addaru, in the archonship of Belemurani, prefect of Carchemish," and contains the history of eight of Sennacherib's expeditions.

* Berlin Zeitschrift, Jan. 1869, p. 13.
† Journ. R. Asiatic Soc., 1861, Vol. xix, Part 2.

Belemurani was archon eponymous in B.C. 691-90. He also gave his name to the year a second time, as Tartan, in B.C. 686-5. I had always considered that the date of Taylor's Cylinder was March B.C. 685, that year marking the date of the eighth expedition, at the close of the year in which he was Tartan, and that the third expedition of Sennacherib was therefore in B.C. 690.

Mr. Smith, however, who has the care of the Assyrian department in the British Museum, states distinctly that there are two cylinders dated in the archonship of Mitunu, B.C. 700, which contain an account of Sennacherib's attack upon Hezekiah in his third expedition, which must therefore be placed not later than B.C. 701 ;* and Taylor's Cylinder must therefore be dated in the time of Belemurani the Prefect. The question is how far do these cylinders corroborate the reckoning of Demetrius. Let us examine.

Hezekiah began to reign in the year B.C. 702. And if we date Taylor's Cylinder in B.C. 690, the third expedition of Sennacherib falls in the year 701. So that Sennacherib would have attacked Hezekiah in the second year of his reign.

Now, if we turn to the Second Book of Chronicles, ch. xxix, xxx, xxxi, we read of all that Hezekiah did in his *first year*, in the first month, the second month, the third month, and on to the seventh month of B.C. 702. Ch. xxxii then begins—"After these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them to himself." Hezekiah then "stopped the fountains." He "*built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David*," and in every way resisted the power of Sennacherib. Now, although no regnal year is named for this invasion, there seems to be good reason, so far as the Book of Chronicles is concerned, for placing it in the second year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701, when Sennacherib relates of himself,—"Then Hezekiah, *who had not bowed down to my yoke*, forty-six of his large cities"—"I utterly destroyed." "He himself *shut himself up in his royal city Jerusalem. He built towers of defence* over it, and he *strengthened and rebuilt the bulwarks of his great gate*." "Thirty talents of gold, eight

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 6.

hundred talents of silver, scarlet robes," &c.—"this mighty spoil unto Nineveh my royal city after me I brought away." These two accounts are clearly descriptive of the same events. And they must, therefore, have taken place in the year B.C. 701. The Book of Chronicles then goes on to say,—"*After* this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, but he himself went against Lacish," that is to say, in the 14th year of Hezekiah, 689, when the army of Sennacherib was suddenly destroyed.

Let us now turn to the Second Book of Kings (xviii, 7), where the first act related of Hezekiah is, that " he rebelled against the king of Assyria and served him not." This rebellion must be referred to the time of the first resistance offered to Sennacherib in 701 ; after which a combination was probably formed between Hezekiah, Hoshea, and So, or Sethos king of Egypt, to resist the power of Assyria,* lasting till the fall of Samaria, in B.C. 696. For we next read (xviii, 9)—" It came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah (699–8), which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmanezer king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it. And at the end of three years *they* † took it, even in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that is the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel (997–6). And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel," &c., that is to say, in the following year, B.C. 696–5. Now we see by the foregoing table that this is the very year of the captivity of Israel fixed by Demetrius, four hundred and seventy-three years and nine months before the reign of the IVth Ptolemy ; and, as I have elsewhere shown, it is the year also of their captivity recorded upon gravestones in the Crimea by Jews descended from the ten tribes.

But how, it will be asked, could Shalmanezer have besieged and captured Samaria in B.C. 696, as "king of Assyria," if Sennacherib had already come to the throne of Assyria some ten years before, that is in B.C. 705. This apparent difficulty is in fact a valuable testimony to the correctness of Demetrius. For, if we turn to the Book of Hoshea, the whole subject of which is the final destruction of the kingdom of Ephraim, and the removal of the remnant of the ten tribes from Samaria, we read—"When Ephraim saw her sickness"—

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* It was now that Menahem, Sennacherib's nominee to the throne of Samaria, was displaced.

† That is the army of Sennacherib and Shalmanezer.

"then went Ephraim to the Assyrian,* and sent to king Jareb (or Irib)," that is to king Sennacherib, "yet he could not heal you" (v, 13). And again—"The people of Samaria shall fear, because of the calves of Beth-aven"—"It (the golden calf) shall be carried unto Assyria, for a present to king Jareb (x, 6)"—"As Shalman (that is Shalmanezer) spoiled Beth-arbel"—"so shall he do to you Bethel."—"In a morning the king of Israel shall be cut off (x, 14,15)." Thus it appears from this contemporary history that Sennacherib was king of Assyria at the time when "Shalmanezer king of Assyria" carried off the golden calf of Bethel and transported the ten tribes beyond the Euphrates. And from another contemporary witness it appears that though Shalmanezer's hand did the act, Sennacherib claimed to himself the triumph over Samaria. "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad?" says Sennacherib. "Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand" (Isaiah xxxvi, 19)? This testimony of the prophets Hosea and Isaiah seems to be decisive as to the correctness of the reckoning of Demetrius with regard to the fall of Samaria. Josephus is also an independent witness to the same effect. For he wrote with the Tyrian annals of Menander before him: and relates first the resistance offered by Hezekiah to the king of Assyria in the same manner as it is told in the Book of Chronicles, showing that he refers to Sennacherib. He then goes on to speak of the revolt of Hoshea, and of his falling away to So, or Sethos king of Egypt, and how Shalmanezer came and destroyed the government of Israel, and transported the people into Media and Persia after besieging Samaria for three years; and how also Shalmanezer besieged Ilulæus king of Tyre for five years without success; and lastly, how in the 14th of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came against Jerusalem, and his army was suddenly destroyed. It is difficult to believe that Josephus so misunderstood the records of Tyre as thus to have placed the siege of Tyre by Shalmanezer, after, instead of before the death of Sargon, if the earlier date was that recorded. If any further confirmation could be required, we find it in the fact that Shalmanezer and king Hoshea had been for some years contemporary with So, or Sethos king of

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* When Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, passed through Samaria he laid tribute upon Menahem king of Samaria, his own nominee to the throne. If Hoshea who slew Pekah, also slew Menahem, this might be the "sickness" of Samaria which remained unhealed.

Egypt. But we have already seen (p. 347) that Sethos had not come to the throne of Egypt till the year B.C. 715. The idea then that the fall of Samaria, after a three years' siege by Shalmanezer, took place so early as B.C. 721 is absolutely untenable.* The true reckoning is that of Demetrius, and the reign of Hezekiah is rightly placed as beginning in B.C. 702.

The fact of the existence of a plurality of kings in Assyria, thus shown, is remarkably consistent with what we know of the great extension of the empire which had taken place under Tiglath-Pileser. And accordingly we find him boasting (Isaiah x, 8)—"Are not my princes altogether *kings*." "At that time," we read, "did king Ahaz send unto the *kings* of Assyria to help him" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16). And again, when Sennacherib came against Hezekiah, this king stopped the fountains, saying—"why should the *kings* of Assyria come and find much water" (xxxii, 4). I would also suggest, with submission to Mr. Smith's great knowledge of the Assyrian tablets, the possibility that Sin-inadina-pal, or Kiniladanus, who was associated with his father Esarhaddon on the throne before his father's death (p. 324), may have been the brother of Assurbanipal, and not Assurbanipal himself: thus making not less than three kings on the throne of the empire at the same time, in the year B.C. 668.

Twenty-nine years, of the sixty under consideration, have thus been satisfactorily accounted for by the help of Demetrius, and there remain thirty-one years, from the last year of Uzziah B.C. 734, to the first of Hezekiah, to be examined. This interval of thirty-one full years, or thirty-two current, is divided in the Book of Kings equally between the two kings of Judah, Jotham and Ahaz, to each of whom sixteen years are assigned. Jotham begins to reign in Judah in the course of B.C. 734, Pekah reigns over Israel twenty years from the same date till 715, and Ahaz reigns in Judah from B.C. 718 to 703. These dates I conceive to be correct within a single year.

From the Assyrian Canon, and from a series of dated tablets in the British Museum, admirably set forth by Mr. Smith in the Zeitschrift of July, 1869, we learn that Sargon reigned from B.C. 722 to 705. So that Ahaz and Sargon were contemporary kings, as Hezekiah and Sennacherib we have seen were contemporary.

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

Now the history of Ahaz is preserved in the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah, with much distinctness. It appears that he began to reign when Pekah had been seventeen years on the throne of Samaria, and that in his first year, B.C. 718, Pekah together with Rezin king of Damascus endeavoured to get possession of Jerusalem, without success ; that Rezin succeeded in settling a colony of Syrians at Elath ; while Pekah carried away not less than 200,000 women, sons, and daughters from Judah : that Ahaz then asked help of the *kings* of Assyria : that Tiglath-Pileser *king* of Assyria came to him, "but strengthened him not" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16, 20) : that Isaiah counselled Ahaz to be quiet, took witnesses to prove the time of the birth of one of his children, and then foretold to the king that "Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, shall be taken away before the king of Assyria," that is to say before the expiration of three years, ending in the years 715 or 714. We then read how Tiglath-Pileser took Damascus, carried the people to Kir, and slew Rezin their king : and how Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-Pileser, and sent a pattern of an altar from Damascus to Jerusalem, and remained some little time at the court of Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus, till after the altar had been erected (2 Kings xvi, 9, 12). Here, then, we obtain contemporary witness that Tiglath-Pileser was still on the throne at least as late as B.C. 716, though Shalmanezer and Sargon had both obtained the rank of kings before that time. For Rezin we are told was still alive eighteen years after the death of Uzziah in B.C. 734. It is remarkable also, that though the fall of Damascus is here spoken of, in conformity with the words of the prophet, no mention is made of the fall of Samaria. Tiglath-Pileser slew Rezin and took Damascus, but who spoiled Samaria ? That both cities had now fallen before the king of Assyria we know from Isaiah. For about this time, say in B.C. 715, or 714, it was that Tiglath-Pileser made use of the expression just referred to—"Are not my princes altogether kings ? Is not Calno as Carchemish ? Is not Hamath as Arpad ? Is not Samaria as Damascus ?" The inference then seems to be that Tiglath-Pileser, who had now come to within three years of the end of his life, had as usual associated certain princes with him on the throne, and that it had fallen to the lot of one of them to take Samaria. Be this as

it may, it is certain, according to the Hebrew account, that the kingdom of Samaria was deprived of its king in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, and, according to the interpretation of Demetrius, not earlier than about the year B.C. 715, or 716. Isaiah then makes mention of Ahaz for the last time (xiv, 28)—" In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden. Rejoice not thou whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken : for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice." These words either apply to the death of Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 712, followed by the invasion of Shalmanezer in 698—events apparently too wide apart—or to the death of Sargon, the conqueror and oppressor of Palestine, who died in August, B.C. 705, shortly before " the year that king Ahaz died," B.C. 703, followed by the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib in 701. The latter no doubt is the time referred to. And thus again the known date of Sargon's death, 705, according to his annals, marks the time of the death of Ahaz, which must have been soon after 705, as correctly laid down by Demetrius. It now only remains to be shown, how Hamath and Arpad, Samaria and Damascus, were, according to Assyrian records, subdued about the year B.C. 715, as reckoned by Demetrius, and by an Assyrian prince then associated on the throne with Tiglath-Pileser.

Let us turn to the work entitled "Les Fastes de Sargon," translated by MM. J. Oppert and J. Ménant, from inscriptions in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. "This is what I accomplished," writes Sargon,* "from the commencement of my reign up to my fifteenth campaign. I defeated, in the plains of Kalou, Khoumbanigas king of Elam. I besieged and occupied the city of Samaria ; I carried into captivity 27,280 of its inhabitants ; I levied upon them 50 chariots, leaving them the rest of their property ; I placed over them my own rulers, and imposed upon them the tribute of the king supreme, or 'Sar Mahri ;' "—the word Mahri being taken here as equivalent to the word מָרֵא in Daniel, " Lord," where it represents "Lord of kings " (Dan. ii, 47). He then goes on to recount his several military exploits in different countries, putting together when possible all that was done during the fifteen campaigns at each particular spot. The account of his attack on Samaria is modestly given. He does not even name the conquered king (Pekah) ; he speaks as if he was then only acting on behalf of the supreme king of Assyria. He makes the most

* Les Fastes de Sargon, p. 9.

indeed of his comparatively trifling capture of 27,000 inhabitants from
Samaria, though Pekah had lately captured not less than 200,000 of
the people of Judah; and then goes on to other exploits till,
apparently about his seventh year, B.C. 715, he comes to the revolt
of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, and the conquest of those
confederate provinces in that year. Now the date of this conquest
cannot be placed earlier than about the year 715; because Sargon
previously speaks of a victory gained over Sebech, or Sabbaco, as
general of the Egyptians, and of his imposing tribute on Pi-ir-chu, or
Bi-ir-chu (Boccoris),* king of Egypt, whose reign we have seen
(p. 347) did not begin till 715 at the earliest; and also of tributes
laid upon Samsi queen of the Arabs and It-Himyar the Sabean.
Again, in the fragmentary annals of Tiglath-Pileser, the chronological
range of which is as yet very imperfectly defined, we read of the fall
of Rezin, the putting down of Pekah, and first setting up of Hoshea,†
and of the tributes placed upon Samsi queen of the Arabs, and on the
Sabeans, which exploits, apparently, are the same as those accom-
plished by Sargon.‡ It is sufficiently clear that the putting down of
Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria by Sargon was the result of
war in the time of Pekah, Rezin, and Ahaz, not of war in the time
of Hezekiah and Hoshea, eighteen years after. Also that the date
of Pekah's death was about B.C. 715, the date of Demetrius, certainly
not 730 as certain modern writers contend.§

I now quit the subject of the agreement of Demetrius with the
Assyrian Annals, which has been established at the following points:—

| DEMETRIUS. | | ASSYRIAN ANNALS. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Death of Uzziah .. .. .. | 734 | Death of Uzziah.. .. .. | 734–5 |
| Putting down of Samaria and Damascus in the reign of Ahaz, 20 years later .. | 715 | Putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, about the 7th year of Sargon .. .. | 715 |
| Death of Ahaz after the breaking of "the rod that smote" him .. | 703 | Death of Sargon .. .. .. | 705 |
| Sennacherib's invasion in the 2nd year of Hezekiah .. | 701 | Sennacherib's third campaign, and invasion of Palestine | 701 |
| Death of Hezekiah after the accession of Esarhaddon | 674 | Accession of Esarhaddon .. | 680 |

* This identification was first observed by Sir H. Rawlinson.       † 2 Kings xv, 30.
‡ Zeitschrift, January, 1869.       § Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

and I once more repeat that the correctness of his dates is placed beyond all question by their agreement with the dates of the three solar eclipses B.C. 763, 689, and 585, all which combine to lower the common reckoning exactly twenty-five years: and I now come to the consideration of another very interesting result to be derived from the history of Assurbanipal.

## RECTIFICATION OF THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

We read in the foregoing history (p. 200), that soon after Assurbanipal had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu on the throne in Elam, that is towards the early part of the year B.C. 652, and before the revolt of Saulmugina in 652-1, the king had despatched a herald to the court of the king of Elam to demand restitution of the image of the goddess Nana, which the Elamites had carried away to Shushan just 1635 years before that date (p. 234). In another passage Kudurnanhundi king of Elam is recorded as the king who had carried off the image, and it is there said to have remained in Elam during—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 Ners | = | 1200 | years. |
| 7 Sosses | = | 420 | ,, |
| 15 years | = | 15 | ,, |

$$\overline{\quad 1635 \text{ years.}\quad}$$

that is from the year B.C. 2287 to 652 (p. 251). Now we should place no great faith in the exactness of any such precise report of time after so great a lapse of years, did we not know from this and other sources that the Chaldeans and Assyrians had an exact method of reckoning time in cycles of Sari, Neri, and Sossi.

Abydenus writes—" A Sarus is three thousand six hundred years, a Nerus is six hundred, and a Sossus sixty." And Sir H. Rawlinson has deciphered a tablet in the Assyrian character, from which he gives " a specimen of the ordinary Babylonian sexagesimal notation," to which he has appended a " portion of a table of squares which extend in due order from 1 to 60."[*] Now if we might assume that the 15 years above spoken of beyond the even cycles, were to be reckoned after the end, and not before the beginning of the two Ners and seven Sosses, we should of course be enabled to fix the dates of

* Early History of Babylonia, p. 4.

a series of not less than twenty-seven Babylonian cycles of 60 years each, in the same way that the whole series of Sabbatical years and Jubilees of Hebrew Scripture have been accurately determined from two or three known dates, to the great assistance of chronologists in laying down the outline of Scripture history. That the correct position of these 15 years is at the end of the period, and not the beginning, is certain from the fact, that by so reckoning we arrive at a year in the Assyrian Canon which is registered as the termination of a cycle. For if we add fifteen years to B.C. 652, we find that B.C. 667 should be the first year of a cycle, and adding again two Sosses or 120 years to that figure, we find that B.C. 787 was actually the first year of a cycle. For the previous year 788 is registered in the Canon as the last year of a cycle. Dr. Haigh* I believe was the first to mark the bearing of these cycles upon the Assyrian Canon. Though apparently unacquainted with the passage in Assurbanipal's Annals concerning the image of Nana, he wrote in July 1870— "*Karru*, in the year B.C. 788 (translated Jubilé by Dr. Oppert), marks the last year of a cycle, a line below B.C. 728, marks another; and one below B.C. 668 probably another."

In the Assyrian Canon, as interpreted by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Shalmanezer II, whose annals are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum, in his thirty-first year appears to have "*inaugurated a second cycle*":† and Sir Henry observes that the verb used in this passage is *akrur*, from כָּרַר, "to move in a circle" (Gesenius). Between this thirty-first year however, B.C. 828, as commonly arranged, and B.C. 788, there are but forty years, instead of sixty. Dr. Haigh therefore, after laying down a calendar of cycles with intercalated months, from B.C. 787 to 688, in conformity with known "astronomical observations from Assyrian documents," goes on to suggest, that the reign of Assur-dan-pal, son of Shalmanezer, who revolted from his father, and secured to himself the allegiance of twenty-seven of the principal cities of Assyria for a period, as he assumes, of nineteen or twenty years, during which the appointment of eponomous archons over the great cities was probably suspended, should be interpolated in the Canon, by which the thirty-first year of Shalmanezer, B.C. 828, will become B.C. 847, and be the first year of a "second cycle" of sixty

* Zeitschrift July and August, 1870.          † Athenæum, 7th Sept., 1867.

years in that king's reign : and he closes his observations by saying—
" This circumstance, combined with others noted above, seems to me to
establish a certainty that Assur-dan-pal reigned for twenty or nineteen
years, from B.C. 844, or 843, to 824." I have no doubt that Dr. Haigh
is correct in this suggestion, and I have, accordingly, in the foregoing
comparison of the reckoning of Demetrius with the Assyrian Canon,
inserted in the Canon, a reign of nineteen years beginning in B.C. 842,
between the reigns of Shalmanezer and Samsi-vul.

Here again the value of the Canon of Demetrius—for his record of
dates is worthy of the title—is seen, as a true interpreter of Assyrian
chronology. For according to Demetrius the year B.C. 860 was the
year of the accession of Jehu king of Israel, of Hazael king of Syria,
and of the death of Jezebel the widow of king Ahab. And in the
eighteenth year of the reign of Shalmanezer, B.C. 860, thus corrected,
we read—" I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of
Damascus relying on the multitude of his soldiers collected his
soldiers in great numbers—I fought with him and defeated him."[*]
And Mr. Smith has written—" While examining part of the Assyrian
collection in the British Museum, I lately discovered a short inscrip-
tion of Shalmanezer II, king of Assyria, in which it is stated that
Jehu king of Israel sent him tribute in the eighteenth year of his
reign." Again in the sixth year of Shalmanezer, corrected to B.C. 872,
" the Assyrians defeat the confederate forces of southern Syria, Egypt,
Arabia, and Palestine, at Aroer. Ahab of Jezreel was associated
with Benhadad in this fight."[†] Now 872 is according to Demetrius
the 23rd year of Ahab, in which he died, and in which Ahaziah came
to the throne. So that the last year of Ahab, and first year of
Jehu mark the sixth and eighteenth years of Shalmanezer. Neither
of these years will bear to be moved without dislocation between
Demetrius and the Canon. The striking fact is, not that nineteen
years arbitrarily inserted into the Assyrian Canon bring it into
harmony with Demetrius, but that nineteen years, neither more nor
less, are required to complete the cycles referred to in that Canon :
and that when so inserted, the reckoning of the two Canons is in
harmony to a single year.

* " The Nimrûd Obelisk," by Dr. Hincks. Dublin Magazine, Oct. 1853.
† Sir H. Rawlinson ; Athenæum, 18th May, 1867.

Assyrian interpreters are still much at variance with regard to the date of the eighteenth year of Shalmanezer. Sir Henry Rawlinson places the date in the year B.C. 841. Dr. Oppert places it in B.C. 888, not less than forty-seven years earlier. Dr. Hincks favoured the views of Dr. Oppert. Mr. Smith coincides with Sir H. Rawlinson. The true date, as I have endeavoured to show, B.C. 860, lies between the two. Let us test the probability of each of these three dates by the probable time of the death of Jezebel, who was slain by Jehu in the year of his accession. Jezebel we know was the daughter of Ithobal king of Tyre, and priest of Astarte, who lived to the age of sixty-eight, according to Menander's Annals of Tyre, and died just forty-two years before the sister of Pygmalion fled from Tyre and built the city of Carthage. Now Polybius, who was living at the time of the fall of Carthage, in B.C. 146, as quoted by Appian, informs us that Carthage had flourished seven hundred years from the time of its foundation to the time when the city was destroyed. The epitomizer of Levy records the same number of years. Suidas writes—Scipio took the city after it had ruled over the surrounding nations seven hundred years. Orosius writes—" Diruta est Carthago septingentesimo post anno quam condita erat." The colony of Carthage was founded therefore in the year B.C. 846 : and Ithobal was born one hundred and ten years before the foundation, that is in B.C. 956. Now assuming that Jezebel his daughter was born about the twentieth, or twenty-fifth year of her father's age, that is in the year B.C. 936 or 931, her age at death would have been—

<div align="center">AGE OF JEZEBEL.</div>

| According to Oppert, | | from 38 to 43 in the year B.C. 888 |
|---|---|---|
| ,, | Demetrius | ,, 66 to 71 ,, ,, 860 |
| ,, | Rawlinson | ,, 85 to 90 ,, ,, 841 |

Clearly the intermediate date is the nearest to the truth. And thus by means of an entirely independent course of inquiry, our already well-founded faith in the accuracy of Demetrius is again confirmed : and the necessity of the proposed modification of the Assyrian Canon strongly supported.